

The Antecedents and Psychological Outcomes of Perceived Rejection from one's Heritage  
Culture

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### Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree. Some of the ideas, literature review (General Introduction), and results (Studies 1, 3, and 4) presented in this thesis have been published, or are submitted under review in the following journals:

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### Abstract

What factors predict whether we perceive rejection from our heritage culture? Few studies have examined the antecedents and outcomes of intragroup marginalisation – perceived rejection due to not conforming to the expectations of one’s heritage culture – in spite of its implications for the psychological functioning of bicultural individuals. The broad aims of this thesis are twofold: to provide a holistic insight into the predictors of intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, to investigate its impact on psychological adjustment and functioning. The General Introduction reviews existing acculturation and marginalisation research and situates intragroup marginalisation within the Social Identity Theory framework. It is noted that previous research on the marginalised experiences of bicultural individuals has centred on either their choice of dis-identifying with their heritage culture, or being prevented from identifying with the heritage culture by the mainstream culture. The role of the heritage culture in-group in rejecting non-conforming members has largely been neglected. The predictors of this perceived rejection from one’s heritage culture were chosen because of their importance in shaping interpersonal interactions and goals: attachment orientations, self-construal, and conservation values. In addition, perceived cultural distance between the heritage and mainstream cultures was included as a factor which may heighten the tension between one’s cultural identities. To provide broad insight into the detrimental impact of intragroup marginalisation, outcome variables were chosen that represent general psychological functioning: psychological adjustment (conceptualised as acculturative stress, subjective well-being, and flourishing), an integrated bicultural identity, and extreme pro-group behaviour. Study 1 found that anxious and avoidant attachment orientations were associated with greater intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, with lower psychological adjustment. Study 2 experimentally primed attachment representations; results further supported the link between chronic attachment orientations and decreased intragroup

marginalisation. Study 3 further supported the link between attachment avoidance and anxiety and increased intragroup marginalisation. Furthermore, support was found for the indirect effects of avoidant attachment through intragroup marginalisation on greater endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours. Study 4 increased the cognitive accessibility of independent and interdependent self-construals through a priming manipulation. Primed interdependent self-construal exerted a protective effect against the link between intragroup marginalisation and poor psychological adjustment and a conflicted bicultural identity, whilst primed independent self-construal was linked with increased intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, decreased psychological adjustment. Study 5 indicated that valuing security and perceiving cultural distance decreased intragroup marginalisation, whilst valuing tradition marginally increased perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. Study 6 examined intragroup marginalisation experiences longitudinally. Results indicated that an increase in intragroup marginalisation from Time 1 to Time 2 was associated with an increase in acculturative stress. The General Discussion reviews the general findings, discusses implications for bicultural individuals, and sets further directions for research.

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### General Introduction

*“What family will want a daughter-in-law who can run around kicking football all day but can't make round chapattis?” – Jess's mum (“Bend it Like Beckham”)*

Meeting the expectations of your heritage culture can be difficult. Jesminder Bhamra, the British Asian protagonist of *Bend it Like Beckham*, goes by the more British name of Jess and dreams of playing football professionally. Much to the chagrin of her parents, her room is festooned with posters of David Beckham. When the opportunity of joining in a local women's team presents itself, she engages in subterfuge after her parents ban her from playing a sport deemed too British and not befitting a young woman of their culture. They believe that they have only her best intentions at heart: at 18, she should focus on becoming an outstanding young woman in the Punjabi Sikh community, thus increasing the chances of finding a respected husband. As Jess pursues her dream in secret, she feels unhappy and torn between her two identities. Uncertain how she can meet their expectations, she angrily complains to her childhood friend, “Anything I want is just not Indian enough for them!” In the present cultural milieu where the number of bicultural individuals like Jess is steadily increasing, what are the difficulties that they may face and, in turn, how do they shape their adjustment and identity?

Intragroup marginalisation is an experience that has been mostly neglected in cross-cultural research into the psychology of bicultural individuals. It refers to the perceived rejection from one's heritage culture group due to adapting to a new mainstream culture in ways that are deemed as a threat to the group's social identity (Castillo, Conoley, Brossart, & Quiros, 2007). *Heritage culture* is defined as the culture that had a significant impact on previous generations of one's family, or is the culture one moved from, and *mainstream culture* is defined as the dominant culture where one currently lives (Berry, 2001; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). For example, a British Asian like Jess would refer to Asian culture

as her heritage culture, and British culture as the mainstream culture. She may feel marginalised by other British Asians for having hobbies, such as football, that are typically perceived as belonging to the mainstream culture, or for having little interest in the traditional practices of the heritage culture, such as cooking chapattis. Thus, when investigating the process of identifying with one's heritage culture, the heritage culture in-group must also be taken into account: we may wish to have a heritage culture identity, but may perceive that it is rejected by other in-group members. Previous research on heritage culture identity has largely relied on an individual's choices (Berry, 2001), or the expectations and policies of the mainstream society, as in the case of forced assimilation policies that sought to strip people of their heritage culture (e.g., Berry, 1970; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Sacha, 1997). The present research took a different approach by investigating the role that heritage culture in-group members play in maintaining one's heritage culture identity.

Importantly, the present research examined several novel predictors of intragroup marginalisation such as attachment orientations, self-construal, perceived cultural distance, and values. Hitherto, studies of intragroup marginalisation have treated it solely as an outcome variable (Cano & Castillo, 2010; Cano, Castillo, Castro, de Dios, & Roncancio, 2014; Castillo, Cano, Chen, Blucker, & Olds, 2008; Castillo, Zahn, & Cano, 2012), and its antecedents have remained unclear. As such, the first theoretical contribution of this research is that it clarifies the predictors of perceived intragroup marginalisation. The second theoretical contribution of this research is that it contributes to our understanding of the outcomes of intragroup marginalisation. More specifically, this research sought to clarify the processes which may prevent successful adjustment for bicultural individuals. For example, intragroup marginalisation may be linked with poor psychological adjustment (decreased subjective well-being, flourishing, and increased acculturative stress), a bicultural identity that is conflicted and distant, and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours such as

sacrificing the self for the heritage culture group or fighting those who insult it. Overall, intragroup marginalisation may shape the identities that individuals maintain, and, on a societal scale, the tensions that may arise between cultures in response. For example, if individuals perceive rejection from their heritage culture if they adapt to the mainstream culture, they may choose to dis-identify with the mainstream culture (e.g., reporting a low integrated bicultural identity) to avoid intragroup marginalisation. In turn, the integration of heritage and mainstream cultures, which research supports is the most beneficial approach at both individual and group level (Sam & Berry, 2010), may be out of their reach.

The present research not only makes theoretical contributions, but has practical implications as well. By understanding what factors are linked with intragroup marginalisation, practical interventions and clinical practices can be developed. For example, therapies might be tailored to enhance the psychological adjustment of individuals who perceive high intragroup marginalisation. Previous research on intragroup marginalisation stems from a counselling approach that focuses on depressive symptomatology (e.g., Castillo, 2009). By focusing on general psychological adjustment and attitudes, the following six studies contribute to a broader understanding of the detrimental impact of intragroup marginalisation. Furthermore, social policies can be shaped to incorporate the importance of acceptance from heritage culture communities for bicultural individuals. The present research is not only pertinent to the current sociocultural climate, but also aims to contribute to our insight into the benefits and dangers (e.g., to themselves in the form of poor psychological adjustment, and to others in the form of extreme pro-group behaviours) that an increasing number of individuals face while standing at the cultural crossroads.

Collectively, the findings of these six studies contribute to a holistic insight into the antecedents of intragroup marginalisation and its association with a variety of outcome variables which broadly delineate healthy psychological functioning. The studies focused on



factors which predict experiences of increased intragroup marginalisation, and which, in turn, are linked with markers of psychological functioning (e.g., psychological adjustment, an integrated bicultural identity). Because intragroup marginalisation is contextualised within culture, I begin with an overview of acculturation – the process of cultural change in individuals and groups – and marginalised experiences. I then contrast Berry's (1997; 2001) model of acculturation orientations conceived as personal choice with Castillo and colleagues' model (2007) of intragroup marginalisation as a function of in-group response. The intragroup marginalisation construct is then introduced through the lens of Social Identity Theory. It is followed by an overview of psychological adjustment, which is situated in the stress and coping framework (Searle & Ward, 1990), and a brief review of the outcome variables. The literature review concludes with the overarching aims of the six studies and an overview of their respective hypotheses.

### **Acculturation**

Acculturation is defined as the mutual process of cultural change resulting from contact between two cultural groups (Berry, 1997; 2001). Individuals at the cultural junctions are faced with two separate choices: maintaining their heritage culture identity and/or adapting to the mainstream culture through establishing relationships among the larger mainstream societal group. The interaction of these two factors produces four distinct quadrants that delineate the strategies that individuals endorse in their identification: assimilation (low heritage and high mainstream culture identification), separation (high heritage and low mainstream culture identification), integration (high levels of identification with both cultures), and marginalisation (low identification with both cultures). Integration is posited as the optimal strategy for psychological adjustment, and marginalisation as the strategy with the most detrimental impact (Berry, 2001; Berry, 1997; Neto, 1995; Peeters & Oerlemans, 2009; Sam & Berry, 2010). In terms of the reliability and stability of Berry's

model, confirmatory factor analysis has yielded unclear results, particularly in regards to marginalised orientations (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). Conversely, methodology which draws on facet theory has yielded all four orientations as useful facets in sentence mapping (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003). Indeed, the majority of acculturation research remains reliant on the four acculturation strategies (e.g., Badea, Jetten, Iyer, & Er-Rafiy, 2011; Sam & Berry, 2010; Ramdhonee & Bhowon, 2012; Ward & Kus, 2012).

Personal choice is an important tenet of Berry's acculturation model (2001), and individuals are conceptualised as navigating along the spectrum of cultural identification. Identity is continuously constructed and reconstructed through contact and internalisation of differing cultures (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003). However, the expectations of the dominant mainstream culture also play significant roles in the adopted acculturation strategies. Previous research has considered only the influence of the mainstream culture in determining acculturation orientations, particularly the mismatch between the expectations of the mainstream culture and the desired strategies of acculturating individuals, such as forced assimilation or marginalisation (Berry, 1970, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997; Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). Importantly, the mismatch between the expectations of the heritage culture group and individuals' preferred strategies, in particular regarding adapting to the mainstream culture, has received less research attention. If a mismatch exists, individuals may feel that their identity is not accepted by other heritage culture in-group members as being representative of the heritage culture, and thus experience marginalisation (Castillo et al., 2007; Khanna, 2004). Despite the implications for psychological functioning and adjustment, research outside of the counselling discipline (Cano et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2007; 2008; 2012) has largely neglected experiences of both intragroup marginalisation and marginalisation as defined by Berry (1970, 2001).

## **Marginalised Experiences**

Marginalisation originated as an ambiguous and almost pejorative term applied to all acculturating and bicultural individuals who were no longer anchored in their cultures (Johnston, 1976; Stonequist, 1935). Indeed, the detrimental outcomes of forced marginalisation by the mainstream society by barring both mainstream culture membership and maintenance of heritage culture practices were documented in detail by Berry (1970; 1990). However, it has been argued more recently that marginalisation, when defined as a withdrawal from or lack of interest in both heritage and mainstream cultures, has little validity (*cf.* Rudmin, 2003) and poor replicability. Del Pilar and Udasco (2004) argued that all individuals are full members of at least one culture. Conversely, marginalisation can be conceptualised as analogous to integration in its lack of a tether to a single culture (Boski, 2008; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003); thus, theoretically, marginalisation can have positive implications as individuals constructively shift between cultures (Hammer et al., 2003). Marginalisation as a choice might be more easily within reach for individuals with proficient knowledge of the mainstream language and who are not a visible minority. Overall, marginalisation remains a neglected and disputed construct.

It is posited that the concept suffers from a focus on marginalised identity as the result of individual choice (or the choices of the mainstream culture) rather than as a product of the expectations of the heritage culture group (Castillo et al., 2007). In particular, the experience of marginalisation from the heritage culture at the hands of other in-group members has been neglected. It is argued that without including the influence of heritage culture members, marginalised experiences cannot be fully understood. Despite progress in the acculturation field, conceptualisations of marginalisation remain largely focused on exclusion by members of the mainstream culture, and an enforcement of cultural loss (Bourhis et al., 1997; Fassaert, De Wit, Tuinebreijer, Knipscheer, Verhoeff, Beekman, & Dekker, 2011; Kotic, Mannetti, &

Lackland Sam, 2005; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Phinney, Madden, & Santos, 1998; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Roccas, Horenczyk, & Schwartz, 2000; Sam & Berry, 2010; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010).

As an exception, Badea and colleagues (2011) tested the hypothesis that marginalisation can only be fully realised when rejection is perceived from both an individual's mainstream and heritage cultures. Their results indicated a negative correlation of perceived rejection from one's heritage culture with heritage culture identification. Identification with the heritage culture was positively associated with integration and separation and negatively with assimilation. Marginalisation was linked with perceived rejection from both heritage and mainstream cultures. However, in this study, the concept of marginalisation was posited as a personal choice, in the same vein as Berry (2001): perceived rejection from one's heritage culture was linked with a decreased desire to maintain one's heritage culture identity. The present research frames marginalisation as a perception that one's heritage culture identity is rejected by the in-group, regardless, and even in spite of, one's wishes to maintain it. Furthermore, acculturation orientations were assessed by only two items each, as was perceived rejection by other heritage culture members. A second study which briefly addressed the role of the heritage culture in perceptions of marginalisation focused on language proficiency of Latino participants (Sanchez, Chavez, Good, & Wilton, 2011). Results indicated that the lack of proficiency in Spanish was correlated with lower perceived membership and similarity to other Latinos, and this was in part explained by intragroup marginalisation.

The conceptualisation of perceived heritage culture rejection in the present research builds upon these findings because it incorporates a wide range of behaviours, traits (including language proficiency), and values that serve as a threat to the prescribed norms of the heritage culture. For example, individuals may perceive that family members believe that

they have too many friends from the mainstream culture. Thus, it provides insight into the varied facets of perceived rejection from one's heritage culture. The present research also addresses the research gap in marginalised experiences by investigating perceptions of rejection from the heritage culture not because of individual choice but because individuals do not conform to its expectations. It is posited that marginalised experiences cannot be fully understood without acknowledging the significance of the heritage culture group and its expectations for a prescribed identity that individuals must maintain if they wish to avoid rejection.

### **Social Identity Theory and Intragroup Interactions**

The intragroup marginalisation construct takes into account the important role that the heritage culture in-group plays in one's identity, and has been conceived through the lens of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1975). The prime conjecture of this framework is that social groups are internalised into one's social identity, thus impacting psychological well-being (for a review, see Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009). Accordingly, experimental evidence indicates that cognitive representations of one's in-group are incorporated into the self (Smith & Henry, 1996). Social identity provides a buffer against daily stressors through increasing perceptions of social support (Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005). In order to maintain the benefits of a social identity, a social group must remain distinct and be positively evaluated in comparison to other groups (Turner, 1975). Threat to a group's distinctiveness can arise when group members do not conform to its specific normative values. Indeed, experimental paradigms have shown that in-group members are less likely to be excluded when they conform to a group's values, regardless of their moral valence (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004), and face higher levels of derogation as compared to out-group and uncategorised individuals when they are

non-conforming (Marques, Abrams, & Serôdio, 2001). However, what happens when individuals do not conform to the in-group?

Marques and colleagues' seminal research on the 'Black Sheep' effect (1988) focused on the extremity of punishment and derogation of non-conforming in-group members, relative to out-group members. Drawing from Social Identity Theory, the authors outlined a negative in-group bias towards those who threaten the group's, and in turn, each individual's, social identity; this effect is not present for non-conforming out-group members. Paradoxically existing alongside positive in-group bias (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992), wherein individuals over evaluate normative in-group members, the Black Sheep effect exacerbates negative social affect towards those who do not meet social identity expectations. The finding that participants still showed a Black Sheep effect when rating the performance of two in-group members, one of whom performed poorly, as compared to participants who rated the performances of two out-group members, implies that social comparison can function on a purely symbolic level without the presence of an out-group member (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988).

In an intragroup context, through punishing severely those who do not comply or perform poorly, the Black Sheep effect operates to maintain the standards that define and maintain a positive image of the group's social identity (Marques et al., 1988; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988), in particular if the non-conforming individual is not a first-time transgressor (Gollwitzer & Keller, 2010). It has also been argued to arise, in part, as an individualistic protection motive to limit the risk of an individual being associated with the non-conforming member and thus also incur social rejection (Eidelman & Biernat, 2003). The Black Sheep effect has been robustly replicated in a wide range of correlational and experimental studies (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Castano, Paladino, Coull, & Yzerbyt, 2002; Gollwitzer & Keller, 2010; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Marques,

Abrams, & Serôdio, 2001; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). The 'black sheep' face even higher levels of derogation compared to out-group individuals (Marques et al., 2001) because their behaviour has an increased relevance for other in-group members as it may impair the group's positive evaluation (Marques, et al., 1988). Despite the consequences for one's social identity when one faces rejection from the in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), few studies have adopted the Social Identity Theory framework in investigating marginalisation from the heritage culture.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation**

Intragroup marginalisation is situated in the Social Identity Theory framework and addresses the lack of research examining the psychological consequences of perceived rejection and social exclusion from members of one's heritage culture (Castillo et al., 2007). At a broader level, the process of social exclusion is composed of components that can be situated in an evolutionary framework. First, stigma may have an evolutionary benefit through detecting poor social exchange partners and those who may have communicable pathogens (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). In addition, quick recognition of similarities (e.g., a shared language) may circumvent the difficulties of detecting in-group membership for large groups where non-members are acquainted (Kerr & Levine, 2008). Thus, in regards to intragroup marginalisation, individuals may perceive rejection and social exclusion from their heritage culture in-group precisely because they no longer meet the prescribed social identity which binds the members together and aids quick recognition. Therefore, they not only threaten the distinctiveness of the cultural social group (Tajfel, 1974), but they may also exist in a space between the in-group and other out-groups, thus not being recognised as a full in-group member with whom social cooperation is beneficial.

Indeed, ostracism is a form of justified social control for non-conforming members (Wesselmann, Wirth, Pryor, Reeder, & Williams, 2012). Individuals who experience

intragroup marginalisation are perceived by family and heritage culture friends as threatening the distinctiveness of the cultural group through deviating from the prescribed social identity (Castillo et al., 2007), and in response may experience a form of social control by other in-group members. From the perspective of the rejected individual, they may have a heightened sensitivity to intragroup marginalisation and experience aversive emotions because ostracism can be conceptualised as a selection pressure (Wesselmann, Nairne, & Williams, 2012). Wesselmann, Nairne, and Williams (2012) argued that ostracism from one's group may have negatively impacted an individual's fitness, and, ultimately, led to death. Indeed, ostracism can be conceptualised as a form of social death if it persists over time (Williams & Nida, 2011). Thus, cognitive and perceptual mechanisms that detected potential cues of ostracism – even minimal cues such as eye contact – and elicited quick responses would have been selected for (Williams & Nida, 2011). Intragroup marginalisation can therefore be conceived of as part of a social process that had evolutionary benefits for distinguishing in-group members, and responding quickly to avoid the negative impact of ostracism.

In this vein, the pain of social rejection is argued to be an evolved response to indicate threats of exclusion (MacDonald & Leary, 2005). Social and physical pain share neural correlates, further supporting the significance of the social attachment system in an evolutionary context (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003). As opposed to the intense, yet brief nature of physical pain, social pain can easily, and vividly, be relived, and its impact on cognitive processes is long-lasting (Chen, Williams, Fitness, & Newton, 2008). The negative effects of rejection remain regardless of whether it is actual or merely perceived (Smith & Williams, 2004). Rejected individuals report increased negative affect (Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004), and seek to ingratiate themselves if there is a possibility of re-inclusion in the in-group (Williams & Nida, 2011). However, perceptions of unfair exclusion are also linked with anger and, in turn, increased antisocial behaviour (Chow, Tiedens, &



Govan, 2008) and aggression (Leary, Twenge, & Quinlivan, 2006). Ostracism from family and friends tends to have a deeper emotional impact than ostracism from strangers (Nezlek, Wesselmann, Wheeler, & Williams, 2012). Accordingly, the current studies investigated perceived rejection from heritage culture friends and family. Additionally, the experience of rejection from members of one's in-group is perhaps the most painful of all, particularly when bound up with the implication that one is reflecting poorly on their shared social identity.

Individuals who experience intragroup marginalisation may face accusations of betraying their culture and 'selling out' from other in-group members (Castillo, Zahn, & Cano, 2012; Thompson, Lightfoot, Castillo, & Hurst, 2010). Castillo and colleagues (2007) distinguish between Berry's model of acculturation strategies as an individual's personal response and their model as a result of group response. They apply a dynamic approach to acculturation as a process rather than a state: group members tend to marginalise other in-group members who are deemed to be adapting to the mainstream culture in ways that are threatening to the group's distinctive norms (Castillo et al., 2008; Castillo et al., 2007).

Accusations of disloyalty, assimilation, and the internal conflict of upholding the demands of several cultures feature prominently in marginalised individuals' narratives (Castillo, 2009). Thus, individuals become the 'black sheep' of their heritage cultures. Furthermore, although the perceptions of rejection are situated within a specific context – whether one's heritage culture identity is accepted – they may be especially painful because they call into question core aspects of the self. Indeed, individuals experience a 'second birth' into their heritage culture and community (Smith, 1991). In this vein, attachment to one's heritage culture can be visceral, paralleling the attachment bonds to a primary caregiver (Ferenczi & Marshall, 2013). Perceived rejection from family and friends because of an identity which we assume to be inherent can leave individuals in a moratorium. If one's heritage culture identity is

perceived as a poor representation of the heritage culture – if their citizenship into that community is metaphorically revoked – then what identity is one left with?

By the same token, intragroup marginalisation leaves individuals feeling alone and unsupported from those closest to them (Castillo, 2009). Conversely, perceived social support is linked with enhanced endocrine, cardiovascular and immune system functioning (Uchino, Cacioppo, & Kiecolt-Glaser, 1996). Moreover, those who perceive social support experience long-term benefits for their psychological well-being and have an increased ability to cope with stress (Collins & Feeney, 2000). Migrants, on the other hand, who experience daily stressors in the form of hassles with other heritage culture members, report lower self-esteem and greater depression, with second-generation migrants – who are presumed to have stronger ties to the mainstream culture – reporting more hassles overall (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). Thus, intragroup marginalisation is likely to be a particularly repugnant experience. Indeed, previous research which conceptualised intragroup marginalisation from a counselling perspective (Castillo, 2009) found strong support for its detrimental association with acculturative stress and depressive symptomatology in an academic environment (Cano et al., 2014; Cano & Castillo, 2010; Castillo et al., 2008, 2012; Thompson et al., 2010). The present research seeks to extend these findings by investigating the role of intragroup marginalisation in general psychological adjustment.

### **Psychological Adjustment and other Outcomes**

The need to belong is a fundamental human motivation, and failure to build lasting social attachments is associated with decreased well-being and adjustment (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). It is argued that intragroup marginalisation is an aversive experience for individuals because it threatens the functioning of meaningful social relationships, which are crucial to well-being (Kahneman & Krueger, 2006). Psychological adjustment is defined as psychological and emotional well-being (Searle & Ward, 1990). Three markers of

psychological adjustment were investigated in varying permutations in Studies 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6: subjective well-being, flourishing, and acculturative stress. Furthermore, an integrated bicultural identity was also included as an outcome variable that is linked with psychological adjustment in Studies 4 and 5.

Research in the field of positive psychology has increased rapidly in the past decade (Hart & Sasso, 2011). The link between subjective well-being – a construct that taps into an individual's own evaluative judgement of global life satisfaction (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) – and intragroup marginalisation has yet to be tested. Subjective well-being in the present studies converged on the self-evaluative cognitive component of global life satisfaction (Diener et al., 1985). The benefits of well-being are far-reaching (for a review, see Diener & Ryan, 2008). Diener, Suh, Lucas, and Smith (1999) have called for further research to investigate the optimal interaction between internal factors and the external environment in predicting high well-being. Indeed, research indicates that subjective well-being is higher for individuals whose personalities match the aggregate personality typical of their heritage culture (Fulmer et al., 2010).

Flourishing was chosen as a construct to measure an individual's evaluation of success in five domains: purpose in life, social relationships, self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism (Diener et al., 2010). Flourishing is a construct that is complementary to subjective well-being, but is nonetheless distinct, developed as a unidimensional measure based on humanistic traditions by Diener and colleagues (2010). If subjective well-being is defined as the baseline of non-clinical, psychologically sound human functioning, then the flourishing dimension provides insight into the specific values of success in both the personal and social domains of everyday life. In an acculturation framework, it captures functioning that surpasses adaptation to the mainstream and heritage cultures. Flourishing has yet to be

examined in multicultural samples, despite its potential for operationalising successful outcomes in acculturating populations.

Acculturative stress arises from cultural stressors that negatively influence individuals' physiological and psychological states and occurs in a variety of domains (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). The stress tends to result from the perceived differences between a heritage and mainstream culture. Of the four acculturation orientations, marginalisation is associated with the highest levels of acculturative stress (Berry, 1990), as marginalised individuals experience stress both in a heritage culture context and in the mainstream culture. Significantly, acculturative stress indiscriminately affects both individuals who have moved to a new culture, and those who have been born in a mainstream culture but have a different heritage culture passed down from previous generations (Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). Of the outcome variables assessed in the present research, acculturative stress is the only one to have been previously investigated; Castillo and colleagues (2008) reported that when controlling for socio-demographic variables and family conflict, experiences of intragroup marginalisation from one's family were associated with increased reports of acculturative stress.

Bicultural identity integration is linked with psychological adjustment (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond 2008), and specifically addresses acculturative difficulties. This construct measures the ways in which individuals conceptualise their bicultural identity, in particular, whether one's cultural identities are perceived as being conflicting or compatible, and distant or blended (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). An integrated bicultural identity is characterised by a harmonious and close relationship between an individual's two cultural identities. Researchers have examined internal predictors of the degree to which individuals construct and maintain their bicultural identity that are located within the individual, such as personality traits, bicultural competence, and acculturation attitudes (Benet-Martínez &

Haritatos, 2005). Overall, it is hypothesised that the mismatch experienced by an individual in their identity and the heritage culture identity that other in-group members expect is linked to decreased psychological adjustment and a conflicted and distant bicultural identity.

Two other psychological outcome variables of intragroup marginalisation were also investigated in the present research. Although they are not part of the psychological adjustment construct, they are nonetheless important aspects of healthy psychological functioning and share close links. Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours, measured in Study 5, refer to endorsements of behaviours such as wishing to merge with one's heritage culture, fighting those who insult one's heritage culture, and even dying for the sake of one's heritage culture. Evidence suggests that endorsement of such behaviours may be one form of compensatory response to avoid the painful impacts of ostracism (Gómez, Morales, Hart, Vázquez, & Swann, 2011). Perceived sociometric status is another outcome variable which was measured in Study 6, and refers to one's social status within in-groups and positively impacts subjective well-being (Anderson, Kraus, Galinsky, & Keltner, 2012). These two variables are further reviewed in their respective studies. Importantly, it is posited that intragroup marginalisation mediates the associations between its predictors and all of these psychological outcomes. For example, insecure attachment may be linked with increased intragroup marginalisation, and in turn, with decreased psychological adjustment. To this end, mediation models were tested for Studies 1-5.

### **The Present Research**

The present research contributes to the discussion on an important, yet often neglected, facet of acculturative experiences that are increasingly common as individuals move between, are raised in, and form ties with multiple cultures. As acculturation occurs in a continuous intergroup context, the punishment and resulting social rejection for not maintaining the norms of the heritage culture social identity is severe; those who acculturate

by adopting methods that are deemed as anti-normative are more likely to experience intragroup marginalisation. The major contributions of the present research are fivefold.

First, it incorporates and acknowledges the role of other heritage culture in-group members when constructing a cultural identity. In drawing from the Social Identity Theory framework, it contributes to the existing notions of chosen heritage and mainstream cultural identities by focusing on the perceived pressures and expectations of other heritage culture members. Individuals may *wish* to identify with their heritage culture, but may perceive this pathway barred by other heritage culture members. Second, in applying a universalist perspective that includes sampling bicultural individuals outside of the United States (Castillo et al., 2012; Castillo, 2009; Thompson et al., 2010), including both first and later generation migrants, and those who are currently within and outside university, it provides insight to the general experiences of intragroup marginalisation across cultures. Thus, it further validates the construct and its potentially detrimental impact on psychological functioning. Third, it investigates the impact of intragroup marginalisation from heritage culture friends alongside family. Fourth, the present research addresses a research gap in defining the antecedents of intragroup marginalisation, from attachment to self-construal. Additionally, by including novel outcome variables such as general flourishing, subjective well-being, and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours, it carries broader implications than the previously counselling-oriented approach which focused on stress and depressive symptomology in an academic context (Cano et al., 2014; Cano & Castillo, 2010; Castillo et al., 2012). Finally, it is, to the best of the author's knowledge, the first of its kind to link the antecedents of intragroup marginalisation with its outcomes in a process model, thus providing insight into the dynamic nature of intragroup marginalisation, and how it may impact the adjustment and responses of individuals.

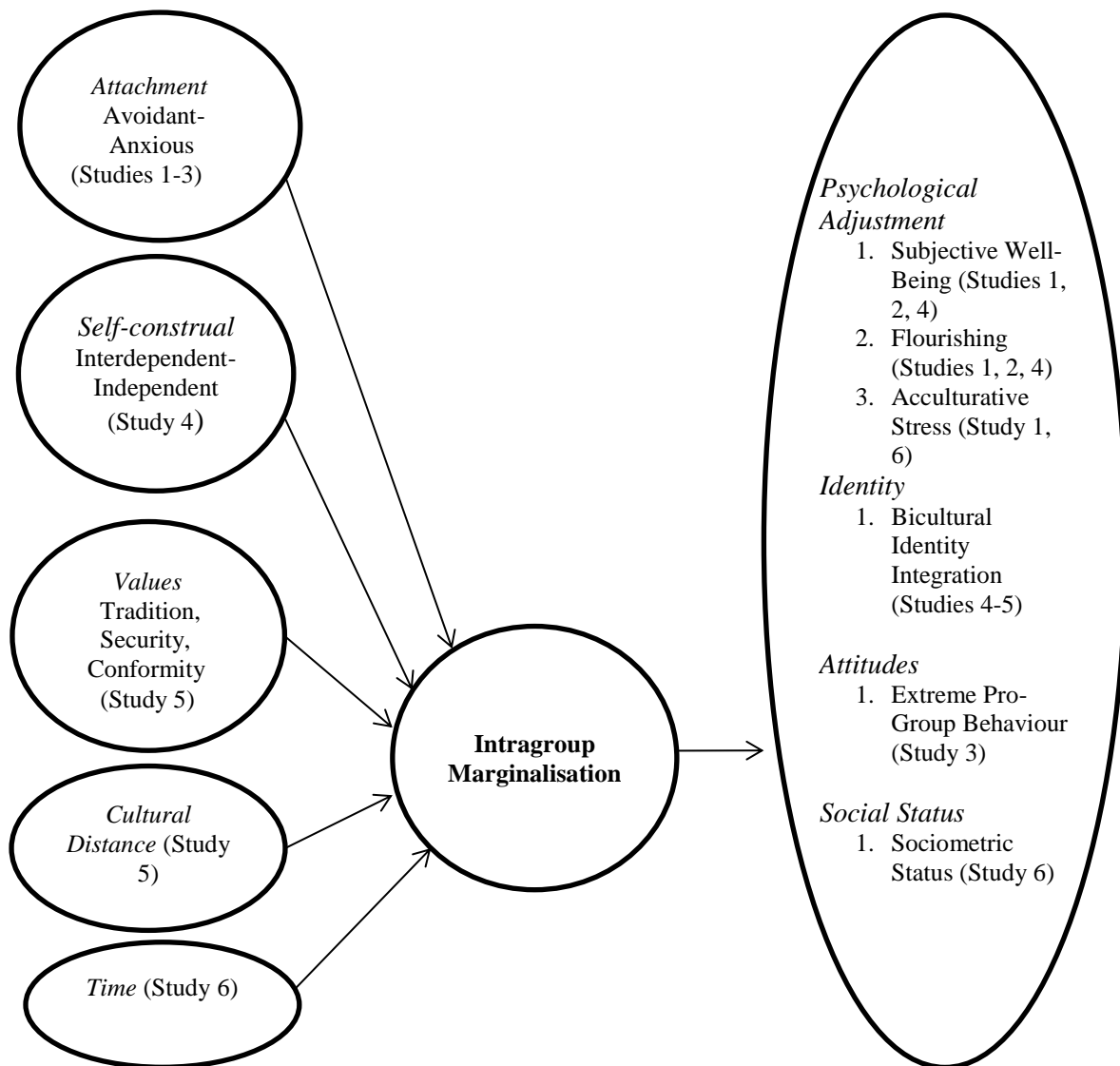


Figure 0.1. A holistic investigation of intragroup marginalisation.

To this end, six studies were conducted on the intragroup marginalisation construct with a mixed-methods approach (a summary is provided in Figure 1.1). To provide a comprehensive insight of the intragroup marginalisation experience, three studies were correlational, two studies had an experimental design, and another study had a longitudinal method. To provide a more succinct and coherent argument, apart from variables which were common denominators of the six studies (e.g., intragroup marginalisation and psychological adjustment), each variable and its association with intragroup marginalisation is reviewed and outlined in its respective study. One overarching aim of the present research was to delineate the overall detrimental impact of intragroup marginalisation from family and friends. It was

hypothesised that intragroup marginalisation is consistently linked with decreased psychological functioning, including poor psychological adjustment (subjective well-being, flourishing, and acculturative stress), a conflicted and distant bicultural identity, an increased endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours, and a low sociometric status. The first three studies focused on the association of attachment orientations with experiences of intragroup marginalisation.



## **Study 1: Links between Attachment Orientations, Intragroup Marginalisation, and Psychological Adjustment**

*"The Indian-American groups made me prove my heritage in a way that was humiliating and insulting. To spend my whole life defending my Indian heritage against taunts and ignorance, to feel very proud of this ethnicity, and then to have ignorant Indian-American youth accusingly ask, "What are you?"... infuriated me and added to my confusion." (Khanna, 2004, p. 126)*

Returning to Jess Bhangra, the protagonist of *Bend it Like Beckham*, she experiences a particularly distressing accusation and rejection of her identity at the hands of her mother, whose dismissal of her beloved pastime carries the implied betrayal of her heritage culture. What individual differences shape and exacerbate the painful perceptions of rejection from other heritage culture members? Elucidating the factors which may increase intragroup marginalisation may also provide insight to the construct and how to ameliorate and address its detrimental impact on bicultural individuals. The purposes of Study 1 were twofold: first, it aimed to examine the personality antecedents of intragroup marginalisation, and second, to examine the consequences of perceived intragroup marginalisation. More specifically, it investigated whether insecure attachment orientations were associated with increased intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, with poorer psychological adjustment.

The implications of an insecure attachment orientation ripple through one's life. The alienation and conflict typically experienced by attachment-anxious or avoidant individuals (for a review, see Li & Chan, 2012) suggest that they may experience difficulties identifying with fellow members of their heritage culture. Intragroup marginalisation, in turn, has been linked with increased acculturative stress (Castillo, Cano, Chen, Blucker, & Olds, 2008), but has yet to be examined as a predictor of other indicators of psychological adjustment such as subjective well-being and flourishing. Thus, this study is the first to test a process model linking insecure attachment orientations with increased intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, with poorer psychological adjustment.

## **Attachment Theory**

Bowlby's seminal theory of attachment (1969) provides a lens through which interpersonal interactions and their cognitive and affective processes can be understood. Attachment theory posits that infants seek and maintain proximity with primary caregivers; through these meaningful interactions, children internalise working models of themselves and others which form the basis of attachment orientations (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Belsky, Steinberg, & Draper, 1991; Bowlby, 1969, 1973). Consistent with Bowlby's premise that internal working models exert an influence from "cradle to grave" (1979, p. 129), attachment theory was extended to adult romantic relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). The defining nature of attachment ties can be secure or insecure. Research in adult attachment focuses on two dimensions characterizing insecure attachment: avoidance and anxiety (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Both forms of insecure attachment are associated with overall decreased relationship quality, although they may take different forms; anxiety is associated with greater conflict, whilst avoidant attachment is negatively linked to positive aspects such as general satisfaction, perceived support, and connectedness (Li & Chan, 2012). Despite the poor general outcomes, insecure attachment bonds can still be strong (Milyavskaya & Lydon, 2012). Conversely, secure attachment is typified by internalised positive models of self, that is, one feels worthy of love, and of other, as significant others are thought of as available and trustworthy (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Secure attachment is commonly conceptualised as low anxiety and avoidance (Mikulincer, Shaver, Sapir-Lavid, & Avihou-Kanza, 2009).

Individuals who have an anxious attachment orientation have a negative model of self, and tend to be preoccupied with winning compassion and affection from others (Mikulincer, 1998). In addition, they endorse strong positive models of other, which results in the individual feeling unworthy of love (Mikulincer, 1995). They are inclined to pursue

interpersonal goals that correspond with their need for closeness with others (Mikulincer, Shaver, Bar-On, & Ein-Dor, 2010), and are more likely to experience distress and shame following a negative interaction with their partner (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005). Furthermore, they report higher discrepancies between their real and ideal/ought selves – those selves that they desire or feel they ought to be (Mikulincer, 1995).

For those high in anxiety, the attachment system is hyper-activated in response to perceived rejection threats (Campbell & Marshall, 2011). It results in an increased sensitivity to relationship threats and negative affect when one cannot obtain the desired proximity and support from attachment figures (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002). Anxious individuals tend to produce higher levels of cortisol, suggesting that anxious attachment is a chronic stressor (Jaremka et al., 2013). They exhibit a heightened responsiveness to rejection threats, expecting and exaggerating their occurrence (Downey & Feldman, 1996). Individuals who are high in anxiety tend to report emotionally charged relationships with more conflict (Li & Chan, 2012), which they themselves are likely to escalate (Campbell, Simpson, Boldry, & Kashy, 2005). Anxious individuals are sensitive to rejection, recalling emotionally painful memories with ease whilst unable to repress the resulting negative effects (Mikulincer & Orbach, 1995). Their difficulty in recovering from past experiences of rejection (Marshall, Bejanyan, & Ferenczi, 2013) may generalise to the perception of a rejecting heritage culture. Indeed, anxious attachment may increase susceptibility to acculturative stress (Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011). It is hypothesised that, owing to their preoccupation with relationships, need for acceptance, and greater awareness of divergence between their actual self and ideal self, individuals who are high in anxiety are more likely to perceive intragroup marginalisation than those who are low in anxiety. Thus, anxious individuals would be hypersensitive to experiences of rejection and conflict from members of their closest social circles – their

family and friends – on the basis of their perceived failures in meeting the expectations of the prescribed heritage culture social identity.

Conversely, avoidant individuals engage in deactivating strategies in response to threat, such as moving away from attachment figures and suppressing emotions to pre-empt the frustration and pain arising from rejection (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002). They tend to feel uncomfortable with closeness (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Fraley & Shaver, 1998; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Li & Chan, 2012). In this vein, avoidant individuals tend to report less intimacy and positive emotion in their relationships (Kafetsios & Nezlek, 2002).

Individuals who are avoidant perceive others as untrustworthy and unreliable, and hold positive views of their self, resulting in exaggerated self-reliance (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a, 1994b). Although they may appear to have high self-esteem (Mikulincer, 1998), in truth, it may be little more stable than a house of cards; highly distressing events can unearth the anxiety (Mikulincer & Orbach, 1995) and the ensuing negative emotions and thoughts may result in difficulties coping with rejection (Birnbaum, Orr, Mikulincer, & Florian, 1997). Thus, it was expected that individuals high in avoidance would also perceive greater intragroup marginalisation from close others such as family and friends. Although they may be adept at suppressing the negative impacts of mild threats, they nonetheless experience heightened psychological distress in response to stress (Stanton & Campbell, 2013). Despite their defences, they report a need to belong to close others and reap the psychological benefits of perceiving that they are accepted (Carvallo & Gabriel, 2006). Furthermore, it is argued that perceiving rejection from close others qualify as severe threats.

Insofar as individuals who are low in anxiety and avoidance – i.e., those who are securely attached – report greater identification and contact with their heritage culture (Polek, van Oudenhoven, & Ten Berge, 2008), it is reasonable to surmise that those who are high in

anxiety or avoidance are more likely to experience alienation from their heritage culture group. Similar to anxious individuals, then, avoidant individuals' sensitivity to rejection may translate into heightened experiences of intragroup marginalisation, but the difference may lie in their behavioural response. Because anxious individuals engage in excessive proximity-seeking (Collins & Read, 1990), they may seek to engage in reassurance and increased contact with members of their heritage culture, whilst avoidant individuals may limit their interactions and levels of intimacy with those perceived to be rejecting them. Until now, no study has investigated the extent to which attachment orientations shape experiences of intragroup marginalisation.

### **Hypotheses**

Thus, it is predicted that intragroup marginalisation will contribute to the negative association of attachment anxiety and avoidance with well-being (Birnbaum et al., 1997; Polek et al., 2008). As there were no *a priori* justifications suggesting that intragroup marginalisation would vary between family and heritage culture friends, no separate predictions for family and friends were made. Overall, it is expected that insecurely-attached individuals' susceptibility to perceive rejection would lead them to experience greater intragroup marginalisation, and in turn, poorer psychological adjustment (subjective well-being, flourishing, and acculturative stress).

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Ethics approval was received from the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Brunel University, in accordance with the recommendations of the British Psychological Society. All participants provided informed consent prior to participation, and were given the opportunity to contact the researchers, refuse to participate, or withdraw at any time without consequences. Participants were recruited through internet sources (e.g.,

www.socialpsychology.org; the intranet of a London University; Amazon MTurk), through the university's undergraduate participant pool, and through leaflets. Inclusion criteria for the study required each participant to have a different heritage and mainstream culture, either through having been born in one culture and moved to a new mainstream culture (first generation migrants), or through having a heritage culture that had significant influence on them and previous generations of their close family that was different to their mainstream culture (second or later generation migrants/bicultural individuals). Each participant's demographic responses were examined to ensure that they met the criteria. Indeed, acculturation research has often sampled from second and third generation migrant individuals in addition to first-generation migrants (Ryder et al., 2000; Marshall, 2008).

The responses of 258 participants were collected ( $M_{\text{age}}$ : 27.81,  $SD$ : 8.90; female: 159, male: 99). As the general experience of intragroup marginalisation was the focus of the present research, participants were recruited from multiple heritage and mainstream cultural backgrounds. Heritage culture distribution was varied, with the majority of participants reporting a European (36%) heritage culture. Participants also reported the following heritage cultures: East Asian (15%), African/Caribbean (12%), mixed heritage cultures (8%), South Asian (7%), Latin American (7%), North American (5%), Middle Eastern/North African (5%), Southeast Asian (3%), Jewish (1%), and Australian/New Zealand (1%). Regarding the mainstream culture, the majority of participants reported living in either European (55%) or North American (42%) cultures. They also reported the following mainstream cultures: Asian (1%), Middle Eastern/North African (1%), or South American (1%). In terms of cultural background, 155 (61%) participants reported having moved to a mainstream culture different to their heritage culture ( $M_{\text{years}}$ : 7.41,  $SD$ : 8.22). 103 (39%) participants indicated that they were bicultural individuals who had been born in a mainstream culture but had a different heritage culture. Participants were highly-educated (63% reported working towards or having

obtained a university degree), were split evenly between being single or in a relationship, and were largely in full-time employment or education (64%).

### **Materials and Procedure**

Data were collected through an online survey-hosting website. Participants completed the survey in English, which consisted of a total of 131 items and on average lasted 15 minutes.

**Berkeley Personality Profile (BPP;** Harary & Donahue, 1994). Seven neuroticism items ( $\alpha = .81$ ; e.g., “I worry a lot”) were included as a control variable. Neuroticism refers to emotional instability (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a), which has been associated with increased insecure attachment (Shaver & Brennan, 1992). This variable was measured to establish that the potential associations of attachment avoidance and anxiety with experiences of intragroup marginalisation could not be attributed to neuroticism. Participants rated each statement on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Disagree Strongly*, 5 = *Agree Strongly*).

**Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (RSEI;** Rosenberg, 1965). The RSEI ( $\alpha = .89$ ) was also included as a control variable due to its association with increased insecure attachment (Marshall, Bejanyan, Di Castro, & Lee, 2013), thus establishing that any associations of insecure attachment with intragroup marginalisation would be above and beyond the effects of self-esteem. Participants were asked to rate 10 statements (e.g., “I feel that I have a number of good qualities.”) on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 4 = *Strongly Agree*).

**Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA;** Ryder et al., 2000). This measure is founded on a framework that postulates that acculturation is a bi-dimensional construct with relationships to mainstream and heritage cultures functioning as distinct entities (Berry, 2001; Huynh, Howell, & Benet-Martinez, 2009; Ryder et al., 2000). The VIA consists of two ten-item subscales that measure identification with one’s heritage and mainstream culture. This

instrument provides the most direct measure of simultaneous marginalised experiences in two cultures that are treated as discrete dimensions. Each subscale measures several cultural phenomena, including adherence to traditions, values, and social relationships in the mainstream and heritage cultures.

The VIA was included to control for an individual's heritage and mainstream culture identification, to ensure that the link between intragroup marginalisation and poor psychological adjustment was above and beyond an individual's own choice of identifying with either culture. As the participant sample was not restricted to specific cultures, the scale was adapted to refer to general heritage and mainstream cultures (e.g., "It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my *mainstream/heritage culture*"; both  $\alpha = .88$ ). Participants rated each statement on a 9-point continuous Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 9 = *Strongly Agree*).

**The Relationship Scales Questionnaire (RSQ;** Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a). The avoidance (e.g., "I find it difficult to depend on other people";  $\alpha = .75$ ) and anxiety (e.g., "I worry that others don't value me as much as I value them";  $\alpha = .83$ ) subscales of the RSQ consist of eight and five items each, respectively (Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan, 1992). Griffin and Bartholomew (1994a) replicated the 13 items from Simpson and colleagues (1992) in a principal components analysis of the RSQ in a large sample ( $N = 650$ ). They argued that the avoidant and anxious dimensions of the RSQ capture Bowlby's (1973) internal working models of self and other, respectively (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994b). Furthermore, Kurdek's (2002) confirmatory factor analysis of five different models of the RSQ found reasonable support only for the two-dimensional model of anxiety and avoidance proposed by Simpson and colleagues (1992). Accordingly, participants were asked to rate the 13 items measuring the avoidant and anxiety dimensions on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Not at all like me*, 5 = *Extremely like me*).



**Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory** (IMI; Castillo et al., 2007). The IMI captures perceived rejection from one's heritage culture/ethnic group in the social circles of friends, family, and the community. In contrast to previous criticisms of the marginality theory that "every person is no more or less than 100% member of a culture" (Del Pilar & Udesco, 2004, p.10; see also Mcfee, 1968; Rudmin, 2003), this measure centres on the ability of the members of a social group to revoke or threaten an individual's own cultural social identity (Castillo et al., 2007; Castillo et al., 2008). The IMI is composed of two unidimensional subscales that measure feelings of marginalisation from one's immediate family ( $\alpha = .84$ ) and from one's wider social circle of friends ( $\alpha = .91$ ). 11 items were included from the family subscale (e.g., "My family has a hard time accepting my new values"). The family subscale is composed of 12 items that are summarised in four themes: homeostatic pressure, linguistic expectations, accusation of assimilation, and discrepant values. 16 items were included from the friends subscale (e.g., "Friends of my ethnic/heritage culture group want me to act the way I used to act"). The friends subscale is composed of 17 items which are categorised into all four of the previous themes and one additional factor labelled as accusations of differentiation. One identical item was excluded from each of the subscales as it referred to apparent phenotypic differences between an individual's heritage and mainstream cultures. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which the items occurred in their daily lives on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Never/Does not apply*, 7 = *Extremely Often*).

**Riverside Acculturative Stress Inventory** (RASI; Benet-Martinez, 2003). The RASI consists of five subscales with three items each. The subscales assess struggles in five life domains: language skills, discrimination/prejudice, intercultural relations, cultural isolation, and work challenges; they can also be combined to measure an overarching acculturative stress construct. Intercorrelations between the subscales were all significant (all  $r \geq .43$ ), and the items were combined to measure overarching acculturative stress (e.g., "I feel that there

are not enough people of my own cultural/ethnic group in my living environment”;  $\alpha = .84$ ).

Participants used a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Disagree Strongly*, 5 = *Agree Strongly*).

**Satisfaction with Life Scale** (SWLS; Diener, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The 5-item SWLS ( $\alpha = .88$ ) assesses an individual’s global life satisfaction (e.g., “The conditions of my life are excellent”). Participants used a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*).

**Flourishing** (Diener et al., 2010). Eight items ( $\alpha = .92$ ) form a unidimensional measure (e.g., “I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me”). Participants indicated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*).

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and Pearson’s correlations are reported in Table 2.1. All correlations save for one between intragroup friend marginalisation and subjective well-being met the assumptions required for tests of mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986).<sup>1</sup> The associations of the IVs (anxious and avoidant attachment) with the proposed mediators (family and friend intragroup marginalisation), and the proposed mediators with the DVs (subjective well-being, flourishing, and acculturative stress) were significant when entered into hierarchical regression models.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Indirect effects are tested by examining the significance of four pathways: the association of the independent variable with the mediating variable through which the indirect effect is exerted (a-path), the association of the mediating variable with the outcome variable (b-path; the combination of the a and b paths representing the indirect effects), the total effect (c-path), which measures the complete association of the predictor and outcome variable, and the direct effect (c’-path), which accounts for the association between the predictor and outcome variables when controlling for the indirect effects.

<sup>2</sup> Hierarchical regression models were conducted to account for the heterogeneity of participants’ heritage cultural backgrounds and to assess the association of attachment orientations with intragroup marginalisation over and above the control variables (gender [-1 = males, 1 = females], generation [-1 = second or later generation migrant, 1 = first-generation migrant], self-esteem, neuroticism, heritage and mainstream culture identification, and heritage culture). Heritage culture was effect coded using Hofstede’s (2001) collectivist/individualist ratings (typically individualistic cultures were coded as -1, and typically collectivist cultures were assigned a 1). This variable and the control variables were entered in the first step of the regression models, and anxious and avoidant attachment were entered in the second step.

First, I tested whether these variables predicted intragroup marginalisation. Heritage culture (collectivistic or individualistic) and generation were not significantly associated with either indicator of

Structural equation modelling was conducted using AMOS 18. The advantage of this approach is that it allowed us to test the pathways between multiple IVs, mediators, and DVs in a single comprehensive model rather than through separate regression analyses.

Several indices were inspected to evaluate model fit: the chi-square statistic, the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardised root mean residual (SRMR). Kline's (2011) criteria were used to check whether the model yielded an acceptable fit for the data: the chi-square statistic should be non-significant (which, in larger samples, is an unrealistic expectation); CFI should be .90 or greater; RMSEA should be .08 or less; and SRMR should be .10 or less. As AMOS 18 only processes complete data, the following analyses relied on 206 participants (130 females, 76 males; 121 first generation migrants, 85 second or later generation bicultural individuals).

Item parcels were created to reflect latent variables, following the procedure described by Russell and colleagues (1998). Item parcelling allows for a more parsimonious and stable model that requires the estimation of fewer parameters (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). This approach was appropriate for the present analysis because the associations between latent variables themselves (e.g., intragroup marginalisation from

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intragroup marginalisation. Females reported lower family ( $\beta = -.16, p < .05$ ) and friend ( $\beta = -.19, p < .05$ ) intragroup marginalisation. Both anxious ( $\beta = .21, p < .05$ ) and avoidant ( $\beta = .19, p < .05$ ) attachment were significantly associated with increased family intragroup marginalisation. Anxious attachment was also a significant predictor of increased friend intragroup marginalisation ( $\beta = .45, p < .001$ ). Second, I tested the predictors of psychological adjustment (acculturative stress, subjective well-being, and flourishing). The same control variables were entered in the first step of the models, and family and friend marginalisation were entered in the second step. Heritage culture, generation, and gender were not significant predictors in any of the three models (with the exception of heritage culture, with participants from collectivist heritage cultures reporting greater acculturative stress,  $\beta = .18, p < .05$ ). Friend ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ) intragroup marginalisation was significantly associated with increased acculturative stress; the association was marginally significant for family intragroup marginalisation ( $\beta = .17, p = .06$ ). Family intragroup marginalisation was also significantly associated with decreased subjective well-being ( $\beta = -.23, p < .05$ ) and approached significance for flourishing ( $\beta = -.18, p = .08$ ). Conversely, the associations between friend intragroup marginalisation and subjective well-being ( $\beta = .30, p < .005$ ) and flourishing ( $\beta = .16, p < .05$ ) were positive. I posit that these contrasting relationships between friend intragroup marginalisation and subjective well-being and flourishing may have arisen due to the high inter-correlation between the two intragroup marginalisation indicators ( $r = .71, p < .001$ ). This covariance was accounted for in the SEM analyses. It should be noted that bicultural identity conflict was also originally included in the hierarchical regression models but was not included in the SEM analysis because it is linked with psychological adjustment as opposed to being one of its indicators. However, both family ( $\beta = .21, p < .05$ ) and friend ( $\beta = .19, p < .05$ ) intragroup marginalisation were linked with increased bicultural identity conflict.

Table 0.1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations for Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Age												
2. Self-Esteem	.21**											
3. Neuroticism	-.23**	-.60**										
4. Avoidance	-.08	-.55**	.44**									
5. Anxiety	-.16*	-.55**	.46**	.51**								
6. Family IGM	-.07	-.34**	.11	.33**	.32**							
7. Friend IGM	-.11	-.34**	.14*	.30**	.46**	.71**						
8. Acculturative Stress	-.05	-.41**	.30**	.43**	.47**	.42**	.48**					
9. SWB	-.90	.50**	-.40**	-.36**	-.23**	-.23**	-.09	-.26**				
10. Flourishing	.02	.66**	-.47**	-.39**	-.31**	-.30**	-.25**	-.29**	.64**			
11. Heritage ID	.05	.17*	-.17*	-.06	-.01	-.22**	-.24**	-.07	.22**	.34**		
12. Mainstream ID	-.002	.31**	-.26**	-.24**	-.17*	-.14*	-.24*	-.29**	.26**	.51**	.38**	
<i>Mean</i>	27.81	30.73	19.53	23.03	12.76	31.29	42.32	38.35	16.36	41.92	66.73	67.88
<i>Standard deviation</i>	8.90	6.15	5.30	5.52	4.73	12.86	19.16	12.40	4.72	8.65	13.42	12.11

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ .

family) were of prime interest, as opposed to their structures and the exact relations of the items that comprise them (e.g., the correlations between family intragroup marginalisation items). Principal components analysis demonstrated that for each scale items loaded onto one factor; items were rank-ordered on the basis of their factor loadings. Parcels were created through adding the highest and lowest loading items for the first parcel, then the second highest and lowest loading items to the second parcel, until all items had been assigned to a parcel; this ensured that all parcels equally reflected their respective latent variables. Three parcels served as indicators for each latent variable. All of the indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent variables (all parcel  $\beta$ s  $\geq .72$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating that the item parcels sufficiently measured the latent variables. The measurement model was tested prior to the structural model (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988)

### Measurement Model

Confirmatory factor analysis revealed that the measurement model provided a good fit [ $\chi^2(98) = 154.41$ ,  $p < .0001$ , CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05 (CI = .04, .07), SRMR = .04].<sup>3</sup> I did not use confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) for each individual measure as the primary aims of the study were to investigate the associations between constructs, rather than their individual structures (Little et al., 2002). As the proposed model is the first to link attachment orientations and psychological adjustment through intragroup marginalisation, alternative measurement models were tested to gauge whether they fit the data better than the proposed theoretical model. The first alternative model included the total scores for the markers of adjustment (subjective well-being, flourishing, and acculturative stress) as three indicators of

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<sup>3</sup> An alternative causal model was also tested which posited a pathway from intragroup marginalisation (family and friend intragroup marginalisation as two exogenous indicators) to avoidant and anxious attachment, and, in turn, decreased psychological adjustment (flourishing, SWB, and acculturative stress). The alternative model provided poorer fit to the data [ $\chi^2(103) = 179.78$ ,  $p < .0001$ , CFI = .97, RMSEA = .06 (CI = .05, .08), SRMR = .07] than the hypothesised model. Only intragroup marginalisation from friends was linked significantly with anxious attachment, and family intragroup marginalisation with avoidant attachment. Burnham and Anderson (1998) recommend that when comparing the goodness of fit for two non-nested models, the AIC values should be inspected; models which have relatively lower values in comparison provide a better fit for the data. The AIC value for the hypothesised model (264.41) was lower than that of the alternative model (279.78), indicating that overall the hypothesised model provided a better fit for the data.

a single latent variable, and yielded a significantly [ $\chi^2 D(43) = 6.41, p < .001$ ] poorer model fit [ $\chi^2(55) = 148, p < .0001, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .09 (CI = .07, .11), SRMR = .10$ ]. Thus, it may be inferred that the three outcome variables are distinct latent variables despite their overlap. A second alternative model tested a single latent variable representing intragroup marginalisation with the total scores for family and friend marginalisation serving as two indicators. When compared with the initial measurement model, the second alternative model also yielded a significantly poorer model fit [ $\chi^2(50) = 106.71, p < .0001, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .07 (CI = .06, .09), SRMR = .04, \chi^2 D(49) = 47.71, p < .05$ ], implying that despite the overlap between family and friend intragroup marginalisation, the pathways through which they are linked with attachment and psychological adjustment differ. Overall, the proposed theoretical measurement model provided a better fit for the data.

### **Structural Model**

The fully saturated structural model included covariances between anxious and avoidant attachment, friend and family intragroup marginalisation, and the three indicators of adjustment. It consisted of all the direct and indirect effects between insecure attachment, intragroup marginalisation, and psychological adjustment, providing an identical fit as the measurement model. To create a more parsimonious model, the structural model was first modified by removing the non-significant covariance between acculturative stress and flourishing [ $\chi^2(99) = 154.42, p < .0001, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05 (CI = .04, .07), SRMR = .04$ ]; the modified model did not differ significantly from the initial model [ $\chi^2 D(1) = .01, p > .05$ ]. The non-significant covariance between acculturative stress and subjective well-being was also removed, resulting in a good model fit [ $\chi^2(100) = 156.06, p < .0001, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05 (CI = .04, .07), SRMR = .04$ ] that did not differ significantly from the initial saturated model [ $\chi^2 D(2) = 1.65, p > .05$ ]. Then, the non-significant direct pathways between anxious attachment and flourishing and subjective well-being, beginning with the lowest

standardised regression weights were removed. A structural model with the pathway between anxious attachment and flourishing constrained to zero provided a good fit [ $\chi^2(101) = 156.12$ ,  $p < .0001$ , CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05 (CI = .04, .06), SRMR = .04], and did not significantly differ from the initial model [ $\chi^2D(3) = 1.70$ ,  $p > .05$ ]. The direct pathway between anxious attachment and subjective well-being was also constrained to zero. The model yielded a good fit [ $\chi^2(102) = 156.14$ ,  $p < .0001$ , CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05 (CI = .03, .07), SRMR = .04], and did not significantly differ from the initial model [ $\chi^2D(4) = 1.72$ ,  $p > .05$ ]. The final modified structural model is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Avoidant attachment was significantly associated with increased family intragroup marginalisation, whilst anxious attachment was a significant predictor of increased family and friend intragroup marginalisation. In turn, family intragroup marginalisation was significantly associated with decreased subjective well-being; the identical association for flourishing approached significance ( $p = .07$ ). Friend intragroup marginalisation was significantly associated with increased acculturative stress.

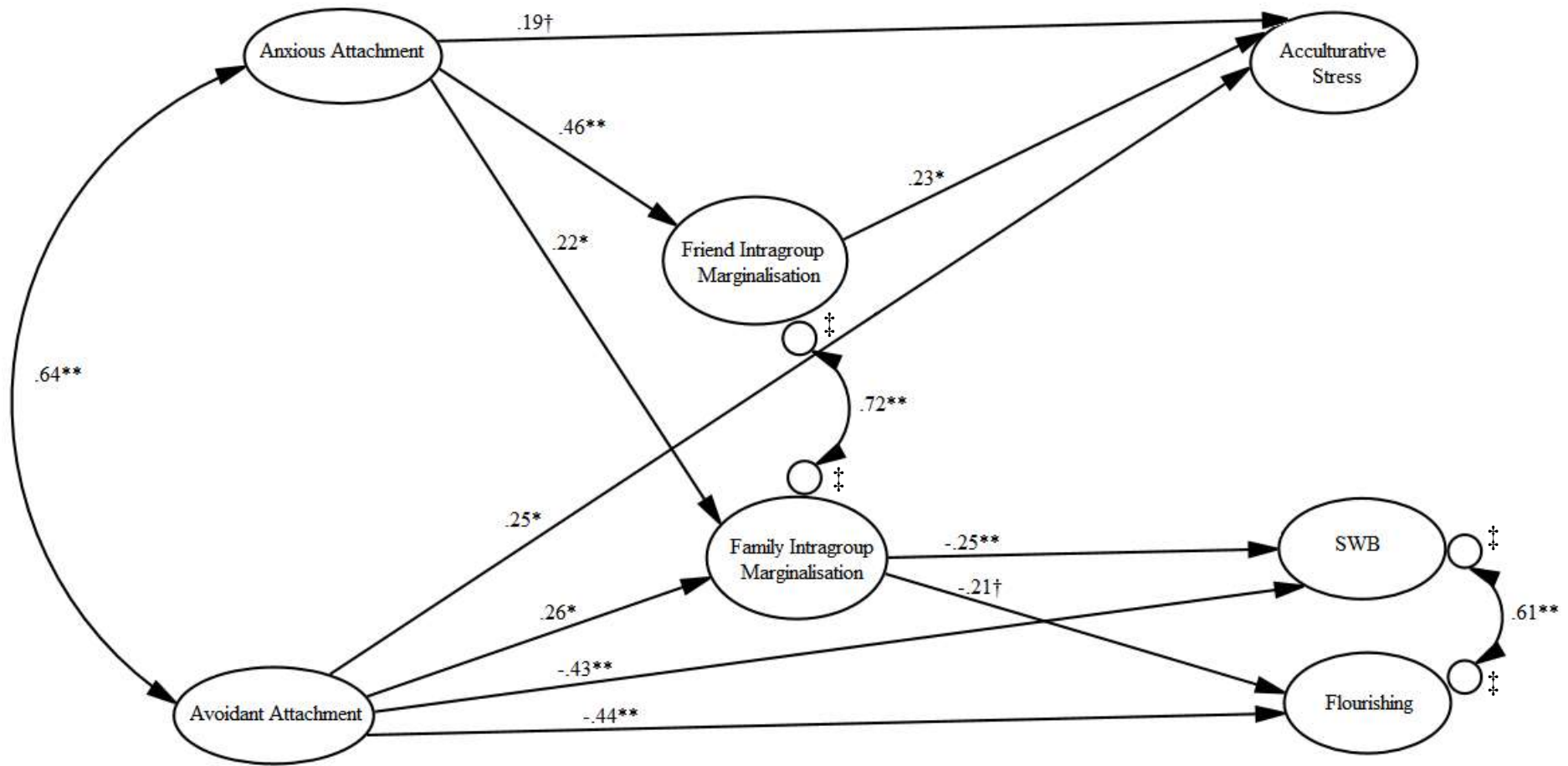
### Tests of Indirect Effects

The indirect effects of attachment anxiety and avoidance on psychological adjustment via intragroup marginalisation were tested using bootstrap procedures in AMOS.

Examination of the 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (CI) from 1,000 bootstrap samples revealed that the indirect effect of anxious attachment on increased acculturative stress via friend intragroup marginalisation was significant [ $\beta = .08$ ,  $p < .05$  (CI: .001, .20)].

The indirect effect of avoidant attachment on decreased subjective well-being via family intragroup marginalisation was also significant [ $\beta = -.05$ ,  $p < .05$  (CI: -.15, -.002)]. Finally, the indirect effect of avoidant attachment on decreased flourishing via family intragroup marginalisation approached significance [ $\beta = -.04$ ,  $p = .06$  (CI: -.14, .002)].

Figure 0.1 Final modified structural equation model of the significant associations between insecure attachment, intragroup marginalisation, and psychological adjustment.



Note:  $*p < .05$ ,  $**p < .01$ ,  $^\dagger p = .07$ .  $\ddagger$ Residual errors.



## **Discussion**

The results provided strong evidence that insecure attachment was associated with increased intragroup marginalisation. Emulating Jess' experience, participants who experienced intragroup marginalisation reported poorer psychological adjustment. In the following sections I discuss the implications of the findings for the association between insecure attachment and intragroup marginalisation and in turn, its negative links with psychological adjustment.

### **Attachment and Intragroup Marginalisation**

Both anxious and avoidant attachment were significantly positively associated with intragroup marginalisation from family members, but only anxious attachment was significantly associated with increased intragroup marginalisation from friends. Anxious attachment is correlated with less positive views of the self (Mikulincer, 1995). The current findings suggest that an anxious individual may hold negative perceptions of the self due to not conforming or meeting the social identity requirements of the heritage culture group. The link between anxious attachment and intragroup marginalisation from both family and friends can be situated in the tendency for anxiously attached individuals to become preoccupied with and ruminate on their relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987); for such individuals, experiences of intragroup marginalisation, which threaten close relationships with members of the heritage culture, can be particularly salient. Anxious individuals' chronic fear of rejection (Mikulincer, Shaver, & Pereg, 2003) may manifest itself in worry that the heritage culture group members will also reject the self.

Similarly, results indicated that avoidant attachment was associated with increased intragroup marginalisation from family members. Membership to family is less controllable than that of the friendship group; thus, even avoidant individuals are susceptible to intragroup marginalisation from family members. In light of the present results, further research could

seek to clarify two different types of insecure attachment: dismissive and fearful attachment (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), and their relationship with intragroup marginalisation, as the latter attachment orientation is characterised by high levels of both anxiety and avoidance. Furthermore, the current results imply that avoidant individuals are aware and willing to report experiences of rejection from family members regarding their social identities, paralleling previous research that avoidant individuals are less connected in relationships (Li & Chan, 2012), but still experience the need for belonging and acceptance (Carvallo & Gabriel, 2006). I did not investigate individuals' affective and behavioural responses to intragroup marginalisation, where the differences between the two insecure attachment types might have been more evident. For example, fearful individuals may engage in reassurance-seeking behaviours and increase contact with family and heritage culture friends despite perceived rejection, whereas dismissive individuals may seek to limit their contact with rejecting others. Future research should investigate the potential differences in avoidant and anxious attachment in responses to intragroup marginalisation. Overall, the present research builds upon previous findings on the influence of attachment orientations on the acculturation process (Bakker, van Oudenhoven, & van der Zee, 2004; Polek et al., 2010; Polek et al., 2008), in part through the indirect effects of attachment on psychological adjustment via intragroup marginalisation.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Adjustment**

A significant contributor to acculturative stress is the perception of social rejection from members of one's heritage culture (Castillo et al., 2008; Thompson et al., 2010), which the present findings corroborated through the association of friend intragroup marginalisation with increased acculturative stress. The negative influence of intragroup marginalisation on the adjustment of Latino college students in an American university was reported in a counselling case study (Castillo, 2009). Together with the finding that intragroup

marginalisation from family was negatively associated with subjective well-being, it can be concluded that intragroup marginalisation plays a distinct role in psychological adjustment.

Castillo and colleagues (2008) found a correlation between family intragroup marginalisation and increased acculturative stress. The association found between family intragroup marginalisation and decreased subjective well-being provides insight into the challenges individuals with multiple cultural identities have to navigate. Perceiving rejection from family arising specifically from the discordance between one's changing identity and the perceived expectations of maintaining the heritage culture may have an impact on general well-being and an evaluation of one's life. For example, experiencing teasing or criticism for lack of proficiency in one's heritage culture language may decrease an individual's satisfaction with their life. The trend towards significance in the association between family intragroup marginalisation and decreased flourishing further illustrates the negative implications of intragroup marginalisation. The differences between the relationships of family and friend intragroup marginalisation with psychological adjustment may be linked to the impact each group has on an individual's day to day life. For example, perceiving rejection from family may have a more insidious influence on psychological and emotional well-being (such as subjective well-being and flourishing), as family is a more primary group to which membership is not voluntary. Conversely, individuals who perceive rejection from heritage culture friends may seek friendships outside of that culture and thus avoid the detrimental consequences on their well-being. However, difficulties with other heritage culture members outside of the family, including friends, may have an impact on the pragmatic aspects of everyday life which results in acculturative stress (e.g., feeling adjusted at work, intercultural relations and cultural isolation).

Overall, intragroup marginalisation is likely to be a chronic experience as individuals move between their heritage and mainstream cultures in their interactions with family

members and the public sphere. Over time, daily hassles may have a negative impact on somatic health, daily mood, and long-term psychological well-being (DeLongis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1982; Eckenrode, 1984). The long-term implications of daily stressors and negative affect on mental health, including generalised anxiety disorders, are observable ten years on (Charles, Piazza, Mogle, Silwinski, & Almeida, 2013). Thus, the wear and tear of frequent stress due to perceptions of rejection from family members due to not meeting the prescribed heritage culture identity expectations may have lasting consequences whose origin may not immediately be as evident or easily pinpointed as those following major life changes or upheavals.

### **Indirect Effects of Attachment on Adjustment**

Close personal relationships are crucial to happiness (Diener & Seligman, 2002). Consistent with the tendencies of insecurely attached individuals to experience relationship disruption (Li & Chan, 2012), results indicated that they perceived greater intragroup marginalisation from family and friends and, in turn, decreased psychological adjustment. Furthermore, migrants who are high anxiety and avoidance report decreased psychological adjustment (Polek et al., 2008). Avoidant attachment is linked with decreased well-being (Li & Fung, 2014). The results showed that the association of avoidance with decreased subjective well-being was mediated, in part, by experiences of rejection due to not adhering to the prescribed social heritage culture identity. This sheds light on one of the mechanisms through which avoidant attachment may result in decreased subjective well-being. The results parallel findings elsewhere in the attachment literature; for example, avoidant attachment has been linked with lower subjective well-being (Wei, Liao, Ku, & Shaffer, 2011), and a meta-analysis of 73 studies reported that avoidant individuals had lower general relationship satisfaction, connectedness, and general support than those who were anxiously attached (Li & Chan, 2012). The results imply that the indirect effects of avoidant attachment on

decreased flourishing may be mediated, in part, by increased family intragroup marginalisation. Although avoidant individuals tend to avoid intimacy (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), engage in deactivating strategies in relationship-threatening situations (Bartholomew, 1990; Fraley & Shaver, 1998), and report being highly self-sufficient (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a), the experience of rejection from family members may still have repercussions on their subjective well-being and, potentially, their flourishing.

Anxious attachment is associated with lower resiliency and poorer coping mechanisms (Galatzer-Levy & Bonanno, 2013), and increased acculturative stress for migrants (Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011). The findings imply that the pathway between anxious attachment and higher acculturative stress is, in part, mediated by perceived intragroup marginalisation from friends. Anxious attachment is linked to feeling more rejected and perceiving more negative and fewer positive emotions in others (Kafetsios & Nezlek, 2002). The increased likelihood of perceiving negative emotions and rejection from friends might heighten acculturative stress; indeed, the findings imply that for individuals with multiple cultural identities, this perceived rejection stems from not being considered a worthy heritage culture member, which, in turn, is linked with greater difficulties in coping with cultural stressors.

The implications for insecurely-attached individuals who do not perceive themselves as accepted and valued members of their heritage culture group are exemplified in their poorer psychological adjustment, both acculturation-specific and general. The chronic perception that one's identity is rejected may manifest itself in long-term decreased mental health. Furthermore, the implications may reverberate across the wider society, with rejected individuals either engaging in self-verification behaviours (Swann, Stein-Seroussi, & Giesler, 1992) of their heritage culture identity to the exclusion of their mainstream identity, or

rejecting their heritage culture altogether, rather than seeking a harmonious and integrated self.

### **Limitations**

Although heritage culture (effect coded as high or low in individualism) did not predict intragroup marginalisation or psychological adjustment, further research should investigate specific cultural samples, such as comparing two heritage cultures within one mainstream culture. Furthermore, with a smaller variation in heritage and mainstream cultures, hierarchical linear modelling could also be conducted. Additionally, future research should seek to include more males to test the generalizability of the present models, although gender was included as a control variable in the hierarchical regression models, and the findings were above and beyond any effects of gender.

Furthermore, to bridge the present findings with previous research on the associations of intragroup marginalisation with outcomes more indicative of poor mental health, such as depression (Cano et al., 2014) and distress (Castillo, 2009), further research should investigate whether insecure attachment is indirectly linked with clinical symptoms via increased intragroup marginalisation (e.g., depression, general stress, physical health). One last limitation stems from the attachment measure used in the present study. The two-dimensional anxiety-avoidance interpretation of the RSQ has an unequal amount of items. Furthermore, it was originally devised as a categorical measure of four types of attachment: fearful, dismissive, preoccupied, and secure (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a). Further research should use a different measure which specifically captures a bi-dimensional, continuous, model of attachment anxiety and avoidance, such as the Experiences in Close Relationships Scale (Wei, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Vogel, 2007). However, it must be noted that the bi-dimensional model of the RSQ which was used in the present study is nonetheless reliable (Kurdek, 2002). An alternative measure of attachment orientations would provide the

opportunity to confirm the importance of attachment orientations when investigating perceptions of rejection from other heritage culture members, and, in turn, poor psychological adjustment. Limitations notwithstanding, as participants from a variety of cultures were sampled in the current study to investigate the general experience of intragroup marginalisation by the heritage culture group, the current findings add to the conceptual foundation of intragroup marginalisation.

### **Study 1: Conclusions**

Jess's story ends on a hopeful note. Her parents come to understand that football, and implicitly, British culture, are a part of her identity: she is allowed to pursue a football scholarship in the US. Her parents' acceptance eradicates the anxiety she experienced in trying to remain true to two cultures, and her avoidant behaviour of keeping secrets and distancing herself. There are glimpses of a more secure familial relationship where she feels unconditionally accepted, consequently providing glimpses of a more hopeful future for those of the insecurely attached participants who experienced intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, poorer psychological adjustment. Social or clinical interventions that decrease attachment insecurity may ameliorate intragroup marginalisation and its potential consequences.

**Study 2: Assessing the Effects of Primed Attachment on Intragroup Marginalisation**

Study 2 sought to replicate the findings of Study 1 regarding the detrimental association of insecure attachment with both markers of intragroup marginalisation, and in turn, its link with poor psychological adjustment (operationalised in this study as decreased subjective well-being and flourishing). To further validate the findings of Study 1, which used the Relationship Scales Questionnaire (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a), a different measure of attachment style was used in this study which specifically captures a bi-dimensional model of attachment avoidance and anxiety (Wei et al., 2007). Validating the relationship between insecure attachment and increased intragroup marginalisation would further confirm the significance of attachment orientations in investigating interpersonal processes in a cross-cultural context, such as intragroup marginalisation. The current study also aimed to extend the previous findings by using an experimental approach. Attachment schemas were manipulated by exposing participants to a secure, avoidant, or anxious prime (Bartz & Lydon, 2004).

Priming attachment schema evokes the characteristics of chronic attachment orientations (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002). Priming security is linked with increased felt security, communion, and merging (Carnelley & Rowe, 2010), which may serve to decrease perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. Conversely, priming individuals with anxious and avoidant schemas is hypothesised to result in increased perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. Identical hypotheses were constructed regarding the associations of chronic and primed attachment with intragroup marginalisation, based on the findings of Study 1. Furthermore, because avoidant individuals have difficulties coping with severe threat (Birnbaum et al., 1997), it was hypothesised that the effects of priming an anxious or avoidant schema – which focuses on perceptions of unavailability and a lack of stability (Bartz & Lydon, 2004) - would enhance perceptions of intragroup marginalisation for both



chronically anxious and avoidant participants, in line with an interactionist perspective of attachment (Campbell & Marshall, 2011).

## **Hypotheses**

*Hypothesis 1a.* Chronic avoidant attachment will be positively correlated with family intragroup marginalisation.

*Hypothesis 1b.* Chronic anxious attachment will be positively associated with both family and friend intragroup marginalisation.

*Hypothesis 2a.* Primed anxiety will be positively correlated with family and friend intragroup marginalisation.

*Hypothesis 2b.* Primed avoidance will be positively correlated with family intragroup marginalisation.

*Hypothesis 3a.* Anxious participants will report increased family and friend intragroup marginalisation in the anxious prime and avoidant conditions relative to those in the secure prime condition.

*Hypothesis 3b.* Avoidant participants will report increased family intragroup marginalisation in the anxious and avoidant prime conditions relative to those in the secure prime condition.

*Hypothesis 4.* The indirect effects of primed and chronic avoidant and anxious attachment on decreased psychological adjustment will be significant through increased intragroup marginalisation.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

The responses of 289 participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 28.02$ ,  $SD: 8.70$ ; female: 102, male: 187) were collected from a wide range of heritage and mainstream cultures. 158 (55%) participants reported that they were migrants ( $M_{\text{years residing in host culture}} = 10.32$ ,  $SD: 8.60$ ), and 126 (45%)

reported that they had been born in a mainstream culture but had a different heritage culture that had been significant to previous generations of their family and their interaction with them (bicultural individuals); there were five instances of missing data for this particular question. Participants were asked to report socio-demographic information regarding education level, relationship and employment status. The most frequent education qualification reported was working towards or having obtained a Bachelor's degree (58%), followed by completed or working towards a postgraduate degree (19%), A-levels or equivalent (13%), GCSEs or equivalent (5%), other (3%), or professional degree (2%). Participants most frequently reported being single (43%), followed by in a relationship (24%), married (23%), cohabiting (7%), or divorced/separated (3%). Regarding employment, the most frequent status was employed full-time (36%), followed by in education (29%), working part-time (14%), unemployed (11), self-employed (9%), or other (1%).

Participants were recruited with the aid of Amazon MTurk, and were paid thirty-five cents upon completion of the study. The study was hosted online via [www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com). Participants completed a socio-demographic section, and measures for the Big Five personality traits, self-esteem, and chronic attachment style, before being presented with the experimental manipulation. Participants were exposed to one of three attachment prime conditions: secure ( $N = 92$ ), avoidant ( $N = 88$ ), or anxious ( $N = 109$ ), after which they completed the intragroup marginalisation and psychological adjustment measures.

## **Materials**

**Berkeley Personality Inventory (BPI).** The seven-item neuroticism ( $\alpha = .79$ ) subscale from the BPI was included as a control variable in line with the previous methodology and results of Study 1.

**Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory** (RSEI; Rosenberg, 1965). The 10-item RSEI scale ( $\alpha = .89$ ) was included to control for self-esteem, identical to the version administered in Study 1.

**Experiences in Close Relationships Scale** (ECR-S; Wei et al., 2007). Composed of two subscales of six items each, the ECR-S measures attachment anxiety ( $\alpha = .72$ ) and avoidance ( $\alpha = .75$ ) in general romantic relationships. The anxious attachment subscale (e.g., “I worry that romantic partners won’t care about me as much as I care about them”) centres on concerns about abandonment and rejection, whilst the avoidance subscale (e.g., “I try to avoid getting too close to my romantic partners”) taps into desires for self-reliance and distance from others in relationships. Participants are asked to indicate their agreement with each statement using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*) regarding their romantic partners in general.

**Experimental Manipulation.** Attachment schema were made salient using the visualization task developed by Bartz and Lydon (2004). Participants read one of three attachment style descriptions (secure, avoidant, or anxious) adapted from Hazan and Shaver (1987), revised in such a way as to enquire about one specific relationship. A series of questions regarding the description were then provided: (a) whether they could think of anyone with whom they had had such a relationship, (b) the initials of that person, and a reminder that the relationship had to be meaningful and important to the participant, (c) the nature of the relationship (e.g., familial, current romantic, past romantic, or friendship), (d) how satisfying the relationship was to the participant, (e) how important it was to the participant, and, (f) how secure the participant felt in this relationship. Participants were then asked to take a few moments to visualise the person, including how they looked, what it was like being with them, and what either of them would say or do should they be face to face; an open-ended text box was provided as a space for participants to report their visualisations.

**Manipulation check.** Directly after the experimental manipulation participants were presented with an item (“I feel very secure right now”), used as a manipulation check to assess attachment security schema and asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale their agreement (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*).

**Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory** (IMI; Castillo et al., 2007). The same version used in Study 1 was administered in this study. The IMI was reliable for both the family ( $\alpha = .79$ ) and friends ( $\alpha = .91$ ) subscales.

**Satisfaction with Life Scale** (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The identical version of the SWLS ( $\alpha = .91$ ) was administered as in Study 1.

**Flourishing Scale** (Diener et al., 2010). Complementary to the SWLS, the Flourishing scale ( $\alpha = .92$ ) from Study 1 was also included.

## Results

### Manipulation Check

Significant differences between groups were revealed on the manipulation check item,  $F(2, 286) = 4.31, p < .05$ . Post hoc tests indicated that participants in the secure condition ( $M: 4.12, SD: 1.01$ ) reported greater felt security than those in the anxious condition ( $M: 3.77, SD: 1.06$ ),  $p = .05$ , and the avoidant condition ( $M: 3.70, SD: 1.02$ ),  $p < .05$ . Means, standard deviations, and Pearson’s correlation coefficients for all pertinent variables in the current study are reported in Table 3.1.

### Chronic and Primed Attachment and Intragroup Marginalisation

A hierarchical regression model tested whether chronic attachment was linked with intragroup marginalisation. All continuous variables were centred on the grand mean. Gender (effect coded as 1 for females and -1 for males), neuroticism, and self-esteem were entered in the first step. Chronic attachment avoidance and anxiety and attachment prime condition were entered in the second step, as illustrated in Table 3.2. Two contrast variables were

Table 0.1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations for Variables.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Age									
2. Self-Esteem	.21**								
3. Neuroticism	-.15**	-.60**							
4. Avoidance	-.16**	-.43**	.36**						
5. Anxiety	-.10	-.42**	.37**	.34**					
6. Family IGM	-.13*	-.41**	.26**	.34**	.41**				
7. Friend IGM	-.20**	-.36**	.30**	.40**	.46**	.65**			
8. Subjective well-being	.01	.55**	-.42**	-.28**	-.25**	-.24**	-.10*		
9. Flourishing	.14*	.70**	-.52**	-.48**	-.25**	-.31**	-.26**	.68**	
<i>Grand Mean (Grand SD)</i>	28.02 (8.70)	30.76 (6.17)	18.59 (5.29)	14.59 (4.36)	16.89 (4.65)	37.07 (11.93)	48.68 (18.96)	17.17 (4.95)	41.67 (9.26)
<i>Secure Condition Mean (SD)</i>	28.22 (8.68)	31.16 (6.01)	18.68 (4.59)	14.09 (4.48)	16.33 (4.83)	36.73 (11.26)	49.08 (19.53)	17.41 (4.61)	41.66 (9.11)
<i>Anxious Condition Mean (SD)</i>	27.13 (8.05)	31.02 (6.62)	18.03 (5.81)	14.78 (4.24)	16.42 (4.79)	36.73 (12.46)	47.65 (19.40)	17.35 (5.17)	41.80 (9.42)
<i>Avoidant Condition Mean (SD)</i>	29.10 (9.61)	30.02 (5.84)	19.31 (5.34)	14.99 (4.32)	17.31 (4.36)	37.87 (12.05)	49.59 (17.91)	16.70 (5.04)	41.52 (9.32)

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

Table 0.2. Predictors of Family and Friend Intragroup Marginalisation.

MODEL	Family Marginalisation		Friends Marginalisation	
	Unstandardized $\beta$	$\beta$	Unstandardized $\beta$	$\beta$
STEP 1 / Constant	-.62		-1.05	
Gender	-1.02	-.08	-2.03	-.10
Neuroticism	.15	.07	.03	.01
Self-esteem	-.68	-.36**	-1.16	-.37**
R <sup>2</sup>		.16**		.15**
STEP 2 / Constant	-.33		-.54	
Gender	-.60	-.05	-.91	-.05
Neuroticism	.02	.01	-.26	-.08
Self-esteem	-.36	-.19*	-.48	-.15*
Secure vs. insecure condition	.13	.02	.45	.03
Avoidant vs. anxious	.55	.04	.74	.03
Avoidance	.46	.17*	1.09	.25**
Anxiety	.66	.26**	1.23	.31**
$\Delta R^2$		.09**		.14**
STEP 3 / Constant	-.41		-.67	
Gender	-.73	-.06	-.72	-.04
Neuroticism	-.03	-.01	-.31	-.09
Self-esteem	-.37	-.19*	-.53	-.17*
Secure vs. insecure condition	.11	.01	.52	.04
Avoidant vs. anxious condition	.72	.05	.75	.03
Avoidance	.46	.17*	1.15	.27**
Anxiety	.62	.25**	1.20	.30**
Anxiety x Secure vs. insecure condition	.04	.03	.21	.08
Avoidance x Secure vs. insecure	-.16	-.08	-.29	-.09
Anxiety x Avoidant vs. anxious condition	.02	.01	.27	.05
Avoidance x Avoidant vs. anxious condition	-.36	-.11†	.15	.03
$\Delta R^2$		.02		.02

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p \leq .005$ , † $p = .07$ .

created. One compared the effects of priming attachment security versus insecurity (2 = secure condition; -1 = avoidant condition; -1 = anxious condition). The second contrast compared the effects of priming avoidance to priming anxiety (1 = avoidant condition; -1 = anxious condition; 0 = secure condition).

For family marginalisation, both chronic avoidance and anxiety were significantly associated with increased family intragroup marginalisation, providing support for Hypothesis 1a. As predicted by Hypothesis 1b, chronic anxious attachment was correlated with increased friend intragroup marginalisation; however, chronic avoidance was found to also be significantly associated with increased friend intragroup marginalisation – a relationship that had not been observed in Study 1. In line with previous results, then, the current findings provide support for the reliability of the link between chronic attachment orientations and intragroup marginalisation, with the addition of an association between chronic avoidance and friend intragroup marginalisation. Neither of the main effects of attachment prime condition significantly predicted either of the indicators of intragroup marginalisation, failing to provide support for Hypothesis 2a and 2b, that primed anxious and avoidant attachment would be associated with increased intragroup marginalisation. Collectively, the results imply that whilst chronic attachment and avoidance are an antecedent of intragroup marginalisation, temporarily-activated attachment schemas may not be linked with intragroup marginalisation.

### **The Moderating Role of Primed Attachment**

To investigate the role of primed attachment as a moderator of the association between chronic attachment style and intragroup marginalisation, four interaction terms were created between chronic attachment and primed attachment. As illustrated in Table 3.2, the

interaction terms did not significantly predict intragroup marginalisation.<sup>4</sup>

### Indirect Effects of Attachment on Psychological Adjustment

To test the Hypothesis 4, that chronic attachment<sup>5</sup> had an indirect effect on psychological adjustment through intragroup marginalisation, one further assumption needed to be tested. A hierarchical regression model was conducted to test the association of intragroup marginalisation (the proposed mediator) with psychological adjustment (Table 3.3). Family intragroup marginalisation was linked with decreased subjective well-being. Thus, two pathways were investigated between chronic avoidant and anxious attachment, increased family intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, decreased subjective well-being.

Table 0.3. Intragroup Marginalisation as a Predictor of Psychological Adjustment.

Model	Subjective well-being		Flourishing	
	Unstandardized		Unstandardized	
	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
STEP 1 / Constant	-.08		.25	
Gender	.01	.00	.69	.07
Neuroticism	-.12	-.13*	-.28	-.17**
Self-esteem	.37	.46**	.88	.58**
R <sup>2</sup>		.30**		.48**
STEP 2 / Constant	-.05		.24	
Gender	.03	.01	.66	.07
Neuroticism	-.12	-.13*	-.28	-.16**
Self-esteem	.37	.46**	.86	.57**
Family Marginalisation	-.06	-.15*	-.02	-.03
Friend Marginalisation	.05	.18*	-.00	-.01
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.02*		.001

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p \leq .005$ .

<sup>4</sup> Two other contrasts were tested. One contrasted participants in the anxious condition with those in the secure condition (effect coded as 1 = anxious condition, -1 = secure condition, 0 = avoidant condition), and one contrasted participants in the avoidant condition to those in the secure condition (1 = avoidant condition, -1 = secure condition, 0 = anxious condition). The interaction between chronic avoidance and primed anxious attachment (i.e., anxious versus secure prime) was significantly linked with family intragroup marginalisation,  $\beta = .16, p < .05$ . Simple slopes tests revealed that the association between chronic avoidance and increased family intragroup marginalisation was significant for participants in the anxious prime condition,  $\beta = .32, t(88) = 3.11, p < .005$ , but not for those in the secure condition ( $\beta = .06, p = .62$ ). The results provide support for the moderating role of primed anxious attachment on increased intragroup marginalisation for individuals scoring high in chronic avoidance (Hypothesis 3b), but not those scoring high in chronic anxiety (Hypothesis 3a).

<sup>5</sup> Primed attachment was not investigated because it did not predict intragroup marginalisation.



Bootstrap procedures were run in SPSS using a script (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). In order to replicate the hierarchical regression models, the following covariates were included: gender, neuroticism, self-esteem, the two priming condition contrasts, and the opposing chronic attachment variable (e.g., when testing the avoidant attachment pathway, anxious attachment was entered as a covariate). Friend intragroup marginalisation was entered at the same level as family intragroup marginalisation as a mediator. Examination of the 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (CI) from 5,000 bootstrap samples revealed support for both models. The indirect effects of chronic attachment avoidance [CI: -.10, -.003] and anxiety [CI: -.12, -.01] via increased family intragroup marginalisation on decreased subjective well-being were significant (both pathways are illustrated in Figure 3.1).

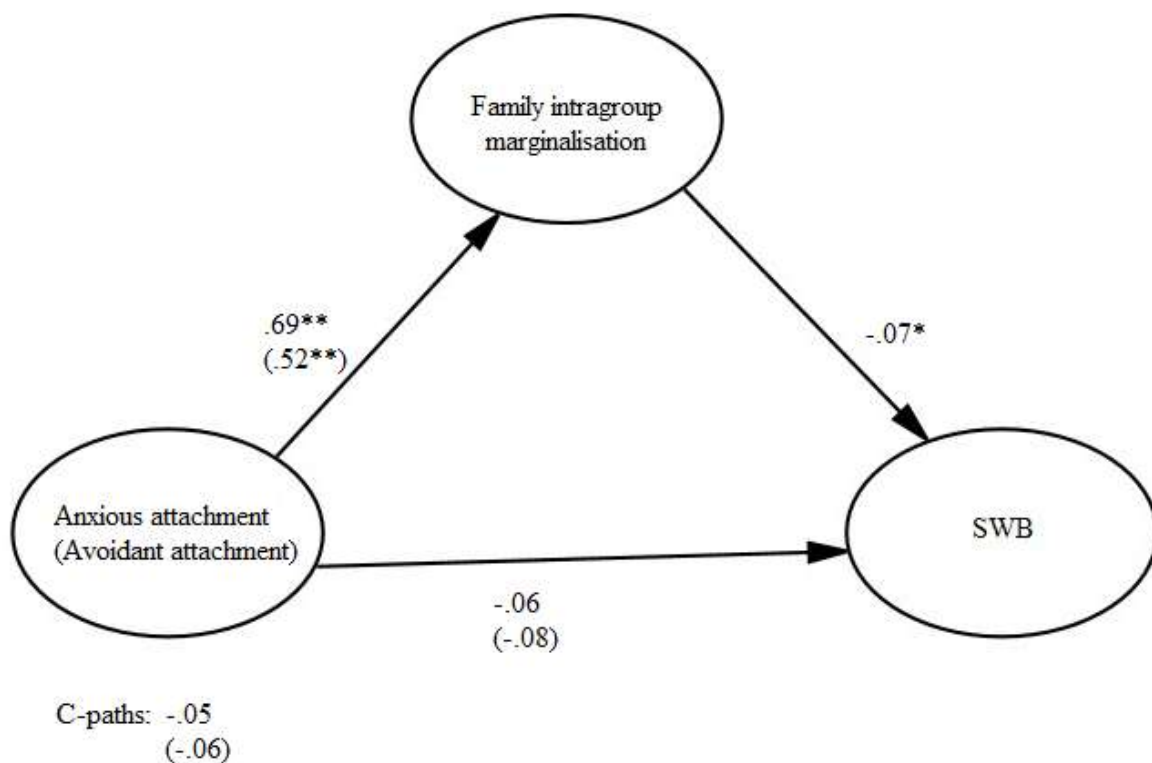


Figure 0.1. The indirect effects of anxious and avoidant attachment on subjective well-being.  
\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p \leq .005$

### Discussion

Collectively, the results of Study 2 replicated and extended the findings of Study 1 on the relationship between insecure attachment and intragroup marginalisation. Chronic

anxious and avoidant attachment were associated with increased intragroup marginalisation, providing full support for Hypothesis 1. No significant main effects of priming condition on experiences of intragroup marginalisation were observed, failing to provide support for Hypothesis 2. Partial support was obtained for Hypothesis 3, as chronically avoidant participants reported increased family intragroup marginalisation in the anxious condition, but not the avoidant or secure condition. Partial support was found for Hypothesis 4, with both chronic anxious and avoidant attachment linked with increased family intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, decreased subjective well-being.

### **Chronic Attachment and Intragroup Marginalisation**

The current findings replicated the link between insecure attachment and intragroup marginalisation from Study 1 in a different participant sample. Further support for the strength of this relationship derives from the use of a new measure of chronic attachment style. The ECR has been developed to centre on the avoidant and anxious aspects of attachment style (Wei et al., 2007), as opposed to the Relationship Scales Questionnaire (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a), which was originally developed to capture the valence of internalised models of the self and others and the resulting four attachment styles (secure, fearful, preoccupied, and dismissive). The positive association of anxious attachment with both indicators of intragroup marginalisation replicated the results from Study 1. In addition, a parallel positive association between avoidant attachment and both indicators of intragroup marginalisation was observed, extending the pathway between avoidant attachment and friend intragroup marginalisation.

The additional results regarding the association between chronic avoidance and increased friend intragroup marginalisation are a further reflection of belonging as a fundamental human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), which even individuals with chronic avoidance experience and yearn for (Carvallo & Gabriel, 2006). Thus, despite the voluntary

membership to a heritage culture friend social group, which allows avoidant individuals to choose to withdraw, experiences of rejection due to not conforming to the prescribed social identity and its requirements are still perceived. Further research should seek to delineate whether such experiences are consciously constructed as being emotionally painful and unpleasant by avoidant individuals. Insecure attachment can be seen as a predictor of experiences of increased perceptions of rejection from one's heritage culture group, building on existing findings on the importance of attachment style for acculturative experiences, which can be novel and distressing (Bakker et al., 2004; Polek et al., 2008, 2010; van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006). Furthermore, the indirect effects of insecure attachment on family intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, decreased subjective well-being provide further support for the findings in Study 1. They confirm the pathway for avoidant attachment in a second sample using a novel measure of attachment, and also highlight a similar process for anxious attachment. Thus, they further bolster the importance of including intragroup marginalisation as a factor in research when unpacking the difficulties that insecurely-attached bicultural individuals may face (Polek et al., 2008; Polek et al., 2010).

### **Primed Attachment and Intragroup Marginalisation**

Including an experimental manipulation of attachment schema revealed no main effects of primed avoidance or anxiety relative to a secure prime. The significance of chronic but not temporary attachment schema in predicting intragroup marginalisation may provide insight into the latter construct. The distinction between chronic attachment orientations and a manipulated, temporarily-induced schema may imply that experiences of intragroup marginalisation are more insidious and entrenched, although this is a tentative conjecture. Alternatively, it may be a limitation of the priming procedure, which was not strong enough to elicit differences in perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. Chronic attachment influences the ways that individuals perceive (Campbell et al., 2005) and recall (Mikulincer

& Orbach, 1995) interpersonal interactions. Intragroup marginalisation is a complex and chronic process wherein individuals are faced with the tension between their methods of acculturating to a mainstream culture, their idea of their social identity, and the pressures and expectations of their heritage culture on maintaining the prescribed norms of the shared social identity. Thus, it may not be as susceptible to temporary manipulation as it is to chronic attachment orientations.

The significance of one interaction effect between chronic and primed attachment when an alternative contrast method was used (see Footnote 4) provides further insight into the factors associated with intragroup marginalisation. Individuals who scored high on avoidance who were then primed with anxiety relative to security reported increased family intragroup marginalisation. The combination of avoidant tendencies with an anxiety threat seemingly contributed to the highest perceptions of intragroup marginalisation from family members. This combination is reminiscent of fearful attachment, which can be conceptualised as an individual holding negative views of themselves and of others, reaping simultaneously the lack of self-worth of anxious individuals, and the lack of trust and reliance in others characteristic of avoidant individuals (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994a).

### **Limitations**

An alternative explanation for the interaction between anxious condition (versus secure) and chronic avoidance on increased family intragroup marginalisation may be that the security prime drove down the perceptions of intragroup marginalisation for avoidant individuals because it increased felt security. However, these results cannot be validated without comparison to a neutral condition (where participants are not primed with any attachment schema). Further research should address this limitation with the inclusion of a neutral condition. Further research should also seek to further verify whether primed

attachment can predict intragroup marginalisation through a new participant sample.

Importantly, further research should seek to investigate manipulations of attachment security using updated versions of Bartz and Lydon's (2004) procedure. For example, by asking participants to recall specific moments in their relationships that meet differing attachment orientation criteria, i.e., perceiving rejection in that moment as opposed to thinking of a relationship that was characterised by rejection, which might pose more difficulties when individuals have a finite amount of family/friends/partners (Sakaluk, 2013). Alternatively, subliminal priming methods (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001) that present individuals with words that are associated with secure schema (e.g., love, hug) or are neutral (e.g., office, boat) can further gauge the impacts of attachment on intragroup marginalisation on a deeper, more unconscious level.

## **Study 2: Conclusions**

The findings of Study 2 verify the significance of attachment orientation as one of the antecedents of intragroup marginalisation. Avoidant individuals who face threat in a relationship context may report a higher susceptibility to feeling rejected from close members of their heritage culture. Additionally, if one's partner is also from the heritage culture, rejection from them may particularly increase perceptions of intragroup marginalisation from other in-group members. The current findings provide further support for the long-reaching effects of attachment, even in contexts such as acculturation that may, at first glance, appear distantly removed. The conflict between striving to be an accepted and valued member of a cultural social group and exploration of new opportunities in and integrating a mainstream culture may be a difficult one to navigate.

## **Study 3: Associations of Insecure Attachment with Extreme Pro-Group Behaviour and the Mediating Role of Intragroup Marginalisation**

*"To many who knew them, all four [bombers] were described as being well integrated into British society. All four had a Westernized and*

*unremarkable background with secular upbringings. None were educated in Islamic-based schools like madrasas... As a teenager, Mohammad Siddique Khan shook off his Pakistani-Muslim identity and presented himself as a Westernized young man going by the nickname "Sid".* (NYPD Intelligence Division Report, 2007, p. 26)

At approximately 8:50am on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2005, a series of explosions on the London subway and bus system killed 52 people and left more than 800 injured. For the first time in modern terrorism, the threat was not wholly external. All four men responsible were British citizens who had been integrated into the mainstream culture – not marginalised, as one might expect from their radicalisation (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). While there has been much speculation about their attitudes towards the mainstream culture, comparatively little attention has been given to their interactions with their heritage cultures, despite one of the men having travelled to his heritage culture to see extended family prior to his radicalisation (BBC News, 2005). More recently, it is estimated that 3,000 – 4,000 bicultural individuals with an EU nationality have travelled to Syria to fight with Isis (Traynor, 2014).

These examples suggest that radicalised individuals who are citizens of Western countries may be motivated by the struggle to find an identity coupled with devotion to a cause (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). Identity is not constructed in a vacuum (Swann, 1983; Tajfel, 1981); agreement and acceptance by others is an important factor in the process. Part of the struggle for identity may stem from the extent to which one feels accepted both by the mainstream culture (Bourhis et al., 1997; Rohmann et al., 2006) and, as I propose, by family and friends from one's heritage culture. The present study focused on extreme pro-group behaviour, defined as willingness to highly commit, physically fight, or even die in aid of one's heritage culture as compensatory reactions by individuals in response to perceived rejection from their heritage culture. Thus, this research may shed light on some of the reasons why Westernised bicultural individuals with no prior criminal convictions or

diagnosed pathological conditions might be drawn to joining extremist groups like Al Qaeda or Isis.

What role does perceived rejection play in the construction of our identity? Humans share a fundamental need to form meaningful interpersonal attachments (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), and a large body of research has documented the attachments we form with family, friends, romantic partners, groups, and our heritage culture (Campbell & Marshall, 2011; Ferenczi & Marshall, 2013; Ozen, Sumer, & Demir, 2010). The findings of Studies 1 and 2 indicated that individuals who were insecurely-attached and chronically perceived rejection reported increased intragroup marginalisation. The present study builds upon the previous two studies by examining the endorsement of responses – which can be extreme and dangerous – of individuals who perceive rejection from other heritage culture members. A compensatory response to intragroup marginalisation may be to reaffirm one's heritage culture identity through endorsing pro-group behaviours and attitudes. It is predicted that insecurely-attached individuals, who have a heightened sensitivity to rejection (Birnbaum et al., 1997; Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002), would report greater intragroup marginalisation. In turn, individuals may endorse compensatory pro-group behaviours in their efforts to gain acceptance by their heritage culture in-group.

### **Pro-Group Behaviour**

Why would an individual endorse extreme pro-group behaviours that are costly? Let us consider that individuals strive for others to perceive them as they do themselves (Swann, 1983). Self-verification is crucial to perceptions of control and predictability, and to satisfactory social relations (Swann, Stein-Seroussi, & Giesler, 1992). In fact, we engage in a continuous construction of ourselves that draws from an abundance of information, including feedback from close others (Swann & Brooks, 2012). Reflected appraisals – perceptions of how others perceive oneself – play an important role in shaping the construction of one's

identity, in particular for individuals who may experience ambiguity resulting from a dual identity or ethnicity (Khanna, 2004). If there is an indirect threat to one's opportunity to self-verify, then they may engage in compensatory self-verification. For example, individuals who rate themselves as assertive display more assertive behaviours following a task where they were allocated the role of a passive listener (Brooks, Swann, & Mehta, 2011). In such a way individuals can obtain self-verifying feedback. Compensatory self-verification functions to re-establish coherence, which is argued to be a fundamental human need; the loss of coherence implies the loss of meaning and an accurate perception of reality (Swann & Brooks, 2012). Thus, through engaging in compensatory reactions, individuals can reaffirm their self and eliminate the discrepancy between how they and others perceive their self.

Furthermore, self-verification can occur at the level of the collective self – the evaluation of the self in relation to one's in-group (Chen, Chen, & Shaw, 2004). In the context of the current study, if a British Asian woman perceives herself as Punjabi, yet finds her family criticising her Punjabi language skills, or her heritage culture friends criticising her values as not representative of their shared culture, then she might come to question her knowledge of herself. To avoid threats to the very foundation of her identity, what can she do? It is hypothesised that those who experience intragroup marginalisation would endorse self-verifying reactions in the form of extreme pro-group behaviours, in the hope of reaffirming their heritage culture identity. Such extreme reactions include expressing high commitment to their heritage culture (e.g., wishing to merge with it), fighting out-group members, or even sacrificing their life for it (Swann et al., 2009). Although extreme pro-group behaviours can be directed either towards the in-group (e.g., donating money) or towards an out-group (e.g., physically hurting someone who insults the culture), I argue that one of the main motivations for pro-group behaviour, is to reaffirm their heritage culture



identity. This should be particularly true for people who are insecurely attached and perceive rejection from other members of their heritage culture.

## **Hypotheses**

This study is, to the author's knowledge, the first to link attachment, perceptions of rejection, and extreme pro-group behaviours. Previous research indicates that threatened anxious and avoidant individuals provide more severe judgements of transgressions, with avoidant individuals also reporting increased defence of their worldview (Mikulincer & Florian, 2000). Furthermore, anxious attachment correlates with greater aggression following rejection (Leary et al., 2006). Mikulincer and Shaver (2001) posited that for insecurely-attached individuals, derogation of out-group members was a method of coping with threat and a form of defensive self-enhancement. It is hypothesised that for insecurely-attached individuals, experiences of rejection from the heritage culture correlate with endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours. Thus, although the end result is similar, that out-group members are negatively evaluated, as with the attachment orientation findings, I argue that the path differs because individuals are engaging in compensatory reactions so they are accepted by their heritage culture in-group.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

208 participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 30.29$ ,  $SD: 11.74$ ; female: 105, male: 100; missing: 2, transgender: 1) who had either moved to a mainstream culture different to their heritage culture (first generation migrants), or whose heritage culture was different to the mainstream culture they had been raised in, and had significantly influenced previous generations of their family (second/later generation migrants) completed the measures. 49% of participants reported that they were first generation migrants ( $M_{\text{years residing in mainstream culture}} = 11.27$ ,  $SD: 8.47$ ); 51% had been born and raised in a mainstream culture that was different to their

heritage culture. Participants reported the following heritage cultures: European (23%), Latin American (18%), East Asian (17%), South Asian (9%), Southeast Asian (9%), Middle Eastern/North African (8%), African (7%), Jewish (3%), Native American/First Nations (3%), Caribbean (1%), Mixed (1%), and North American (1%). The majority of participants reported living in a North American mainstream culture (83%); they also reported living in Europe (15%), East Asia (1%), and South Asia (1%). Participants mostly reported being in a relationship (65%), were employed in some form (62%), and had completed or were in the process of completing their Bachelor's degree (62%).

Participants were recruited online via two methods. First, participants were recruited with the aid of Amazon MTurk, and were paid thirty cents (USD). Participants were also recruited through the online Social Psychology Network site, with no reward. Participants completed the questionnaire through an online survey-hosting website ([www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com)). All materials were in English.

## **Materials**

**Experiences in Close-Relationships – Short Form (ECR-S).** The ECR-S (Wei et al., 2007) reported in Study 2 was administered. Alphas for both the anxious (6 items;  $\alpha = .69$ ) and avoidant (6 items;  $\alpha = .78$ ) subscales were reliable.

**Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory (IMI).** Both the family (11 items,  $\alpha = .83$ ) and friend (16 items,  $\alpha = .91$ ) subscales from the IMI (Castillo et al., 2007) indicated high internal reliability.

**Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviour Scale.** I adapted the scale developed by Swann and colleagues (2009) to investigate participants' willingness to engage in extreme actions for the benefit of their heritage culture. The subscale measuring willingness to fight for the group was composed of five items (e.g., "I would fight someone insulting or making fun of my heritage country as a whole."). A two-item subscale centred on

participants' willingness to die for their heritage culture (e.g., "I would sacrifice my life if it gave the heritage culture group status or monetary reward") was also included. A further three items were created to extend the range of pro-group activities to include increased commitment to the in-group ("The needs of my heritage culture group come before my own", "I would be willing to attend a protest if my heritage culture group were threatened", and "I would be willing to donate money to organisations promoting interests of my heritage culture group if need be"). The scales were collapsed into one overall measure of extreme pro-group behaviour ( $\alpha = .91$ ). Participants indicated their agreement with each statement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Totally Disagree*, 7 = *Totally Agree*).

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and Pearson's correlations for all variables of interest are reported in Table 4.1.<sup>6</sup> Structural equation modelling using AMOS 18 was conducted to investigate the pathways between anxious and avoidant attachment, family and friend intragroup marginalisation, and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours. Kline (2011) recommended that for an acceptable model fit the following requirements must be met: the chi-square statistic should be non-significant (in larger samples, this is an unrealistic expectation), the comparative fit index (CFI) should be .90 or greater, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) should be .08 or less, and the standardised root mean residual (SRMR) should be .10 or less. As AMOS 18 can only process complete data, the following analyses were conducted on 194 participants (94 females, 97 males, 1 unreported,

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<sup>6</sup> Preliminary hierarchical regression models controlling for gender (-1 = male, 1 = female), age, cultural background (-1 = 2<sup>nd</sup>/later generation migrants, 1 = 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants), and heritage culture (coded as -1 for a culture high in individualism, and 1 for a culture low in individualism using Hofstede's (2001) ratings) were conducted. Avoidant and anxious attachment were linked with increased family intragroup marginalisation, respectively,  $\beta = .26, p < .005$ , and  $\beta = .19, p < .01$ , and increased friend intragroup marginalisation, respectively,  $\beta = .28, p < .001$ , and  $\beta = .21, p < .005$ . Younger participants also reported greater intragroup marginalisation from family ( $\beta = -.24, p < .005$ ) and friends ( $\beta = -.20, p < .01$ ). Friend intragroup marginalisation was linked with heightened endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours ( $\beta = .36, p < .005$ ). Anxious attachment was linked with greater endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours ( $\beta = .14, p < .05$ ). Younger individuals had a higher endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours ( $\beta = -.24, p < .005$ ).

and 1 transgender individual). As in Study 1, an item-parcelling approach was used. Each latent variable was assigned two parcels of equal amount. Items were assigned to each parcel at random (Little et al., 2002); this method is recommended as it provides a superior model fit in comparison to others (Landis, Beal, & Tesluk, 2000) and ensures that the factor variance amongst parcels is approximately equal (Little et al., 2002). A measurement model was tested prior to the construction of a structural model, in accordance with the guidelines for the analysis of structural equation models (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988).

Table 0.1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations for Variables.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Age							
2. Gender	-.05						
3. Anxious attachment	-.25**	.04					
4. Avoidant attachment	-.12	-.10	.14*				
5. Family intragroup Marginalisation	-.25**	.02	.28**	.31**			
6. Friend intragroup marginalisation	-.19**	-.11	.27**	.33**	.74**		
7. Extreme pro-group Behaviour	-.23**	-.12	.21**	.16*	.18*	.32**	
<i>Mean (SD)</i>	30.29 (11.74)		16.59 (4.86)	13.54 (5.04)	34.15 (13.10)	45.03 (19.18)	31.08 (14.24)

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .005$ .

### Measurement Model

The measurement model provided a good fit to the data [ $\chi^2(25) = 35.56$ ,  $p > .05$ , CFI = .99, RMSEA = .05 (CI = .00, .08), SRMR = .03]. All of the indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent variables (all  $\beta$ s  $\geq .58$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating that all item parcels sufficiently reflected their respective latent variable.

### Structural Model

A fully saturated structural model was tested initially, which included all of the direct and indirect effects of insecure attachment, intragroup marginalisation, and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours. It also included structural covariances between anxious and avoidant attachment, and family and friend intragroup marginalisation. This structural model

yielded an identical model fit as the measurement model.<sup>7</sup> Three structural coefficient pathways were non-significant: the two direct pathways between avoidant and anxious attachment with extreme pro-group behaviour, and the pathway from family intragroup marginalisation to extreme pro-group behaviour. To create a more parsimonious model, the pathways were removed in order of lowest standardised regression weights. Chi-square difference tests did not yield significant differences in model fit, respectively: [ $\chi^2D(1) = .59$ ,  $p > .05$ ], [ $\chi^2D(2) = 3.37$ ,  $p > .05$ ], and [ $\chi^2D(3) = 5.13$ ,  $p > .05$ ].

The final model (illustrated in Figure 4.1) provided a good fit [ $\chi^2(28) = 40.69$ ,  $p > .05$ , CFI = .99, RMSEA = .05 (CI = .00, .08), SRMR = .04]. Anxious and avoidant attachment were both associated with increased marginalisation from family and heritage culture friends. Intragroup marginalisation from heritage culture friends was linked with greater endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours.

### Tests of Indirect Effects

Bootstrap procedures in AMOS were used to test the indirect effects of anxious and avoidant attachment on endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours via friend intragroup marginalisation. Inspection of 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (CI) from 1,000 bootstrap samples found support for both indirect pathways. The indirect effect of anxious attachment on endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours via increased friend intragroup marginalisation was significant [ $\beta = .07$ ,  $p < .005$  (CI: .02, .15)]. Moreover, the indirect effect of avoidant attachment on endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours via increased friend intragroup marginalisation was also significant [ $\beta = .12$ ,  $p < .005$  (CI: .04, .21)].

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<sup>7</sup> An alternative causal model was tested which investigated the link from intragroup marginalisation (family and friend intragroup marginalisation as two exogenous variables) to avoidant and anxious attachment, and, in turn, extreme pro-group behaviours. Although this model provided a satisfactory fit to the data [ $\chi^2(27) = 35.73$ ,  $p > .05$ , CFI = .99, RMSEA = .04 (CI = .00, .07), SRMR = .06], crucially, neither intragroup marginalisation variable predicted avoidant or anxious attachment. In accordance with the guidelines by Burnham and Anderson (1998) regarding the comparison of non-nested models, the AIC fit index was inspected. Lower (relative to the other tested models) AIC values indicate better fit. The AIC values for the hypothesised model and the alternative model were 94.69 and 111.73, respectively, indicating that the hypothesised model provided a better fit for the data than the alternative causal model.

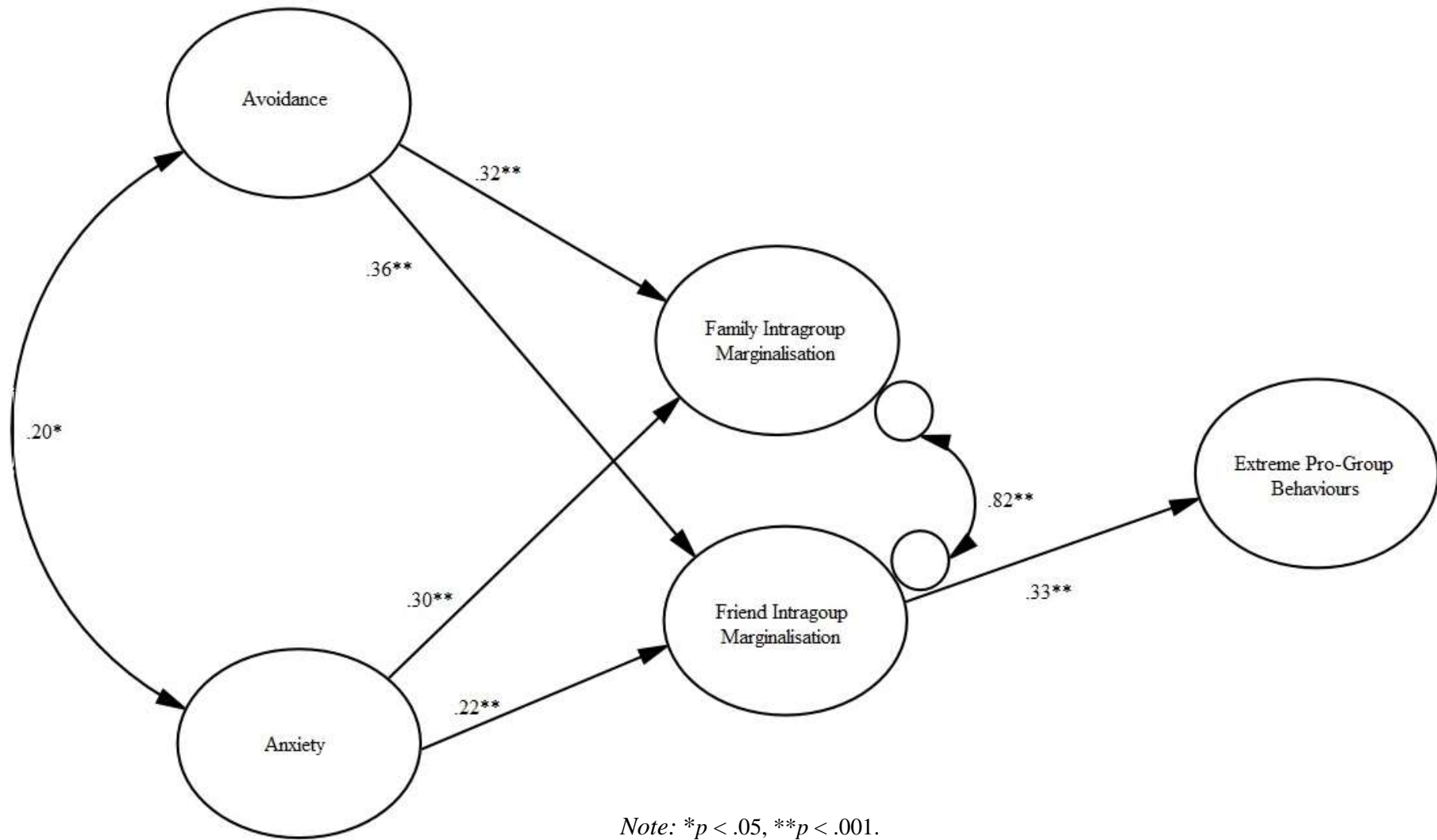


Figure 0.1. Modified structural equation model of the associations between insecure attachment, intragroup marginalisation, and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours.

## **Discussion**

The results provide strong evidence that anxious and avoidant individuals experience greater intragroup marginalisation from family and heritage culture friends. In turn, those who were high in friend intragroup marginalisation were more willing to endorse extreme pro-group behaviours. Thus, insecurely-attached individuals may endorse dangerous pro-group behaviours as a compensatory reaction to reaffirm their identity and membership to their heritage culture in-group.

### **Attachment and Intragroup Marginalisation**

The current findings contribute to our understanding of the association between insecure attachment and intragroup marginalisation and further validate the findings of Studies 1 and 2. They also provide a link between the rejection-sensitivity of insecurely attached individuals to endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours through experiences of friend intragroup marginalisation. Anxious individuals tend to report difficulties with anger control, whilst avoidant individuals report greater hostility (Mikulincer, 1998), implying over-reactivity to negative interpersonal experiences. Endorsement of behaviours that can cause harm to oneself or others may be one facet of over-responsive tendencies in the face of threat. Thus, additional risk factors arise for individuals who are negotiating multiple cultural identities and, in particular, are in the process of forming their ethnic identity (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Intragroup marginalisation may be one aspect of cultural homelessness – the experience that one does not belong to either their heritage or mainstream cultures (Navarrete & Jenkins, 2011).

### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Extreme Pro-Group Behaviours**

Intragroup marginalisation from heritage culture friends was linked with higher endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviour. One strength of the present study is that it simultaneously measured the domains of family and friendship intragroup marginalisation,

thus taking into account their interdependence (Wrzus, Wagner, & Neyer, 2012). One reason why only rejection from friends was linked to greater endorsement of pro-group behaviour may be because of the more fragile nature of friendships compared to family bonds (Allan, 2008). Whilst individuals may feel rejected from their family on the basis of their heritage culture identity, they may nonetheless perceive acceptance on binding cultural conceptions of 'blood' and the legal system. As friendships are largely voluntary, and are based on reciprocity and equality (Hays, 1988), intragroup marginalisation may be more detrimental in terms of maintaining the relationship. Close friendships are often considered a 'chosen' family, fulfilling an individual's needs for belonging and closeness (Wrzus et al., 2012), and consequently becoming important relationships which are staunchly maintained. Thus, individuals may endorse extreme pro-group behaviour to reaffirm their heritage culture identity, and in doing so, realign balance in the friendship after perceiving rejection. Furthermore, it could be argued that the mutuality of friendships can become dangerously reinforcing in terms of pro-group behaviours, with friends supporting each other in the development of extreme attitudes in attempts to maintain a shared heritage culture identity.

Although the study measured attitudes towards extreme pro-group behaviour as opposed to actual behaviour, this is a necessary step in redefining the approach to extreme pro-group behaviours. Through measuring attitudes as opposed to actual behaviour, the author investigated the responses of individuals who have, ostensibly, not engaged in extreme, dangerous, or even illegal behaviours. Indeed, many of the EU citizens who joined Isis, for example, are young, often well-educated, bicultural individuals with no prior history of criminal offences. Research needs to shift from conceptualising terrorism as a result of personality disorders or irrationality removed from the general populace (Crenshaw, 2000). The current findings indicate that individuals sampled from a broad demographic may indeed endorse behaviours that appear extreme, such as wishing to merge with their culture, or



fighting or even killing those who insult it. Prior research indicates that individuals are more likely to identify with radical groups when they perceive uncertainty in the form of threat to their values and behavioural practices (Hogg, Meehan, & Farquharson, 2010). It is postulated that individuals who report intragroup marginalisation experience uncertainty in terms of their identity, in particular, that their heritage culture identity is not accepted by other in-group members. Thus, they may shift to endorse more radical ideas as a method of alleviating the uncertainty and re-establishing their membership within the heritage culture group.

Some extreme pro-group behaviour may appear to be externally directed towards the out-group, at least on the surface. However, motivations for in-group bias and intergroup discrimination are argued to stem from preferential treatment of the in-group rather than direct hostility and hatred of the out-group (Brewer, 1999). The present findings provide further support for in-group oriented motivations as participants who experienced intragroup marginalisation from friends reported greater endorsement of extreme behaviours, including some which were directed towards the out-group, thus implying a compensatory response to the perceived rejection of their heritage culture identity. Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours can then be conceptualised as stemming from a motivation to reaffirm one's identity in the heritage culture in-group, rather than stemming from dislike of the out-group. I argue that participants who reported intragroup marginalisation from friends did not necessarily dislike or revoke their mainstream identity in the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviour, but were instead motivated to gain acceptance of their heritage culture identity. The findings provide further support that measures which guarantee biculturalism are crucial on both the parts of mainstream/host cultures (e.g., governments supporting the practices of heritage cultures and providing heritage culture language classes) and of heritage cultures and communities (e.g., policies and measures which ensure that individuals who have migrated or have been born and raised in a mainstream/host culture are nonetheless

recognised and accepted as heritage culture in-group members) to prevent individuals who are struggling to find an identity in perceiving rejection from their heritage culture. If the underlying motivations for attitudes and behaviour which could lead to acts defined as terrorist are to be untangled, then psychological research needs to address several levels of factors (Crenshaw, 2000). It is argued that the present research provides a foundation by investigating both individual differences in personality (i.e., attachment orientations) and perceptions of interpersonal interactions (i.e. intragroup marginalisation), and, importantly, their associations in a process model.

### **Limitations**

Two factors were investigated in a process model that linked attachment orientations with increased intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, with heightened tendencies to endorse extreme pro-group behaviours. Structural equation modelling allowed for the investigation of a comprehensive model. Future research should seek to further validate the relationships in two ways. First, as I used cross-sectional data, causal pathways cannot be inferred; further research should focus on experimental paradigms. Further research can also seek to design and test a task which specifically primes rejection from one's heritage culture due to no longer meeting the prescribed cultural identity, and validate its association with extreme pro-group behaviour. The second limitation of the present study (and all of the other five studies) is a reflection of one of its strengths: by applying a universalist approach participants were sampled from a variety of heritage and mainstream cultures. However, further research could seek to investigate the finer nuances that arise from the interaction of two specific cultures, thus restricting participants from one particular heritage culture and another particular mainstream culture, for example, in investigating current affairs such as bicultural individuals with EU citizenship travelling to Syria and joining Isis.

**Study 3: Conclusions**

Were there any uniting experiences of rejection from their heritage culture between the men who perpetrated the London bombings? Rather than arising solely as a response to perceived threat from out-group members, the motivation for individuals to endorse pro-group behaviour may instead come as a response to threat from their in-group, in particular, the threat of exclusion. Indeed, the perception that one's identity is no longer accepted may have long-term implications as an individual's identity shifts, straying further from the prescribed heritage culture identity. They may experience a pressure to adhere to the heritage culture identity, and feel that their worth as an in-group member is undermined. The resulting uncertainty of their identity has consequences; perceiving that they may lose support from friends, insecurely attached individuals may seek to compensate their heritage culture identity through endorsing pro-group attitudes and behaviours. In seeking friendships with other members of their heritage culture who are similarly negotiating dual identities, a reinforcing cycle could arise, with interactants taking turns in enforcing the expectations of the heritage culture, escalating the compensatory reactions to perceived rejection. The father of two British-Yemeni men who travelled to Syria to join Isis recently recounted his concern that their attitudes may have been radicalised in the UK in the company of friends, many of whom he did not know (Morris & Taylor, 2014). Clinical and community interventions which focus on individuals' heritage identities alongside their integration to the mainstream society could ameliorate experiences of rejection which may lead to detrimental attitudes and, ultimately, to tragedies similar to the London bombings.

#### **Study 4: The Protective and Detrimental Effects of Self-Construal on Intragroup Marginalisation**

*“No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent.” John Donne*

What is the fate of the individual who feels like an island, rather than safely anchored to land, amidst the cultural oceans? In this era of globalization, individuals often juggle the conflicting demands of multiple cultural identities (Castillo et al., 2007), and thus may experience intragroup marginalisation. What factors shape these perceptions of rejection? Notwithstanding the importance of self-construals for shaping our attitudes towards in-group members (Markus & Kitayama, 2010), no study until now has examined the role of self-construals in perceptions of rejection from heritage culture members. Returning to Donne’s words, do we differentially perceive rejection depending on whether we construe ourselves as islands, separate from others, or, conversely, as inextricable parts of a continent?

The present research investigated the effect of independent and interdependent self-construals on perceived rejection from heritage culture members, and the implications of such for psychological adjustment and an integrated bicultural identity. This study extended the findings of Studies 1-3, which showed that insecure attachment styles were associated with increased intragroup marginalisation, by examining whether self-construals influenced these feelings of marginalisation. The focus thus shifted in Study 4 to focus on individual differences – i.e., self-construal – that may be shaped by culture. The construal of the self and how it is situated in one’s social environment differs cross-culturally (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Self-construal is an important variable to consider because it shapes how individuals interpret the behaviours of others (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). Viewing the self as unique (the independent self) or as similar to important others (the interdependent self) may influence perceived marginalisation from in-group members. To this end, participants were

primed with independent and interdependent self-schemata, which temporarily increase the cognitive accessibility of these representations and mimics the influence of chronic self-construals (Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). In particular, this priming method increases or decreases perceptions of similarity with close others. This study advances theory by being the first to investigate the link between self-construal and perceived intragroup marginalisation. Furthermore, by examining the predictors of perceptions of intragroup marginalisation, this study may have real-world implications for minimising its negative effects on psychological adjustment and bicultural identity integration. Indeed, intragroup marginalisation may be a significant factor through which self-construals and how we conceptualise and approach our relationships with closer others can be linked.

### **Self-Construal**

The rationale that the self may greatly differ from the clearly defined, Western-oriented conception bloomed late in social psychology (e.g., Geertz, 1975; Shweder & Bourne, 1984). The distinction between three domains of the collective, private, and public self (Triandis, 1989) provides useful methods for understanding the significance of others in the continuous construction of the self. The private self centres on cognitions and traits that refer to the self, in opposition to the collective self which is embedded within a referent group; the public self is constituted of cognitions from the perspectives of the generalised 'other.' The three selves are argued to be universal, but the accessibility to each is dependent upon cultural factors that shape and augment each type, with consequences on the resulting behaviour. The distinction between the independent and interdependent self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) marked a progression from the Western-focused approach. The theoretical framework developed and refined by Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1994) is encapsulated in the differing ways that cultures emphasise values and ideals of the self. The conjectures stemming from the differences between independent and interdependent selves provide

insight into how they can play potentially significant roles in experiences of intragroup marginalisation.

The notion of the independent self has a long history in Western philosophy, founded in the dualistic tradition of Cartesian thought regarding the conceptualisation of the mind, and its separation from the external environment (Kitayama & Markus, 1991). Extensively researched in Western social psychology, the majority of theoretical assumptions on diverse psychological processes were formulated from the traits of the independent self (for a review, see Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1994). Independent self-construals are characterised by personal agency (Imada & Ellsworth, 2011; Weisz, Eastman, & McCarty, 1996) and perceptions of a distinct, unique, and static inner self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). They are promoted within individualistic, Western, cultures, where it is valued to develop and attend to one's inner attributes (e.g., motives, traits, and values) and personal goals (van Horen, Pöhlmann, Koeppen, & Hannover, 2008). Individuals rely on their inner self – which is perceived as being consistent (Suh, 2002) – to interpret and imbue behaviour with meaning (Morris & Peng, 1994). These values are reflected in cultural institutions, such as the prevalence of narratives describing achievement and self-direction in American textbooks (Imada, 2010). Other individuals are still significant, but are cast into the roles of affirmers and appraisers, relied on to verify the inner self. The onus is on the individual to express their inner self if they wish to be understood.

The interdependent self is rooted in Chinese thought of synthesising constituent parts into a harmonious whole (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It is a more holistic self-construal that relies on the fundamental connectedness between individuals, becoming meaningful and whole when situated in the appropriate social relationships. Interdependent self-construals are characterised by a focus on harmonious interdependence, attending to others, and fitting into the social milieu (Imada, 2010). They are prevalent in collectivistic, Asian, cultures. The

interdependent self may behave in different ways across differing situations depending on what is deemed appropriate (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, core attributes are situation-specific and can be dialectical or contradictory (Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers, Boucher, Mori, Wang, & Peng, 2009). In contrast to the independent self, the interdependent self directs control inward to ensure that private emotions do not displace the equilibrium of harmonious interpersonal interaction. A constant awareness of others and their needs is inherent in the interdependent self, with the implicit assumption that attendance to the needs and goals of others is a reciprocal endeavour. Notably, interdependent individuals are more sensitive to disharmony, expressing more concern about potential relationship conflict (Bejanyan, Marshall, & Ferenczi, 2014). Pro-relationship traits and caring behaviours form a stronger basis for their self-esteem than they do for independent selves (Goodwin et al., 2012). Because close others actively participate in the construction and definition of the self, the interdependent self is constantly aware of others' needs, goals, and expectations. Self-esteem is contingent on fitting into the in-group and living up to their standards (Hannover, Birkner, & Pöhlmann, 2006).

Significantly, the interdependent self is not indiscriminate; only in-group members are incorporated into the self. The significance of incorporating others in the interdependent self is evidenced in unconscious mimicry behaviour in social interactions (van Baaren, Maddux, Chartrand, de Bouter, & van Knippenberg, 2003) and the representation of close family members in the same location as the self on a neural level (Ng, Han, Mao, & Lai, 2010). It is emphasised that the interdependent self does not yield up its personal autonomy, but instead, perceived cooperation is a matter of enhancing and expressing the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It is logical to surmise that the differing ways in which individuals construct their self-concept, in particular when conceptualising the boundary between self and others, will influence their perceptions of rejection from close members of their heritage culture.

### **The Influence of Self-Construal on Intragroup Marginalisation**

It is proposed that an interdependent self-construal may buffer against perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. By emphasizing similarities and interconnectedness with members of the heritage culture group, interdependence may provide a cognitive/affective buffer from perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. Thus, interdependent selves may perceive themselves as more similar to in-group members and as meeting the expectations of the prescribed heritage culture identity. Conversely, because independent selves value autonomy, being unique, and acting in accordance with their own wishes rather than the wishes of an in-group, it is surmised that independence may be linked with increased perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. Independent individuals may be more likely to perceive themselves as different, for example, by perceiving the mainstream culture as being part of their identity, despite the potential cost of perceiving intragroup marginalisation for not remaining similar to other in-group members and maintaining their heritage culture identity. Additionally, by focusing on the distinct and unique aspects of the self, independent selves may feel that they do not conform to the prescribed heritage culture identity, and thus perceive rejection from other heritage culture members. In light of links between perceived rejection and poor socio-emotional functioning (for a review see Wesselman, Nairne, & Williams, 2012), the associations of self-construals with intragroup marginalisation may hold important implications for psychological adjustment and an integrated bicultural identity.

### **Self-Construal and Psychological Adjustment**

The present study sought to replicate and extend the previous findings of the detrimental link between intragroup marginalisation and psychological adjustment by investigating the indirect effects of self-construal through intragroup marginalisation with two markers of psychological adjustment. They represent general subjective well-being (SWB), and thriving above the baseline of psychological functioning (flourishing). An



additional psychological outcome was included which represents overcoming difficulties specific to individuals managing two or more cultural identities (bicultural identity integration). Previous research indicates that cultures where the interdependent self is prominent tend to be lower in global evaluations of personal well-being (Diener & Suh, 2000). The variation of well-being across cultures has been attributed to the link between individualism and increased pursuit of personal goals and happiness over social obligations (Ahuvia, 2002). Variations also stem from differences between contingency of satisfaction on self-related as opposed to relationship-related domains (Suh et al., 2008; Tam, Lau, & Jiang, 2010). Furthermore, differences exist in the meaning and weight attached to negative and positive affect (Wirtz, Chiu, Diener, & Oishi, 2009). Thus, the definitions of well-being, and the pathways to pursue it, may differ depending on which self-construal is dominant. This study aimed to extend these findings through incorporating intragroup marginalisation as an important intermediary of the pathway between self-construal and psychological adjustment and an integrated bicultural identity. In order to further elucidate the nature of the intragroup marginalisation, and thus the methods to decrease and counter it, this study sought to investigate self-construal as a predictor. I posit that the differing ways that individuals construct their identity, in particular when conceptualising the boundary between their self and others, will form a significant link to their perceptions of rejection from close members of their heritage culture, and in turn, will be linked to poor psychological adjustment.

### **Hypotheses**

Interdependent and independent self-construals are potentially important predictors of intragroup marginalisation. The interdependent self, comprised as it is of its important relationships, roles, and memberships, is sensitive to rejection (Yamaguchi, Kuhlman, & Sugimori, 1995) and values conformity and similarity (Bond & Smith, 1996; Täuber & Sassenberg, 2012). Conversely, the independent self, valuing uniqueness (Kim & Markus,

1999), invests less of the self in any one particular group and values non-conformity (Boucher & Maslach, 2009). I argue that these varying perceptions of similarity or difference with in-group members play a crucial role in whether individuals perceive intragroup marginalisation. Thus, individuals primed with interdependence, because they wish to avoid rejection, may see themselves as more similar to other in-group members and perceive less intragroup marginalisation. On the other hand, it is hypothesised that individuals primed with independent self-construals would perceive themselves as being unique and distinct, and in turn, perceive their heritage culture identity as different and thus rejected by other in-group members. Therefore, I surmised that a primed and chronic interdependent self-construal would exert a protective effect on psychological adjustment and an integrated bicultural identity through decreased perceived intragroup marginalisation. Conversely, a primed and chronic independent self-construal may decrease psychological adjustment and an integrated bicultural identity through increased perceptions of intragroup marginalisation.

Hypotheses were tested by priming participants (Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). The effects of priming self-construal tend to mirror cultural differences in chronic self-construal, regardless of individuals' cultural origins (Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999). I also assessed chronic self-construals through a self-report measure. Testing both primed and chronic self-construal allowed to more accurately discern the association of self-construals with perceived intragroup marginalisation.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

278 participants ( $M_{\text{age}}$ : 28.53,  $SD$ : 8.52; female: 121, male: 157) completed the questionnaire. As the experiences of intragroup marginalisation as a general construct were of focal interest, sampling was conducted for a variety of heritage cultures. Participation criteria required participants to have a heritage culture that was different to their mainstream culture.

The majority of participants reported a European heritage culture (25%), followed by South American (21%), East Asian (14%), African/Caribbean (12%), South Asian (9%), Mixed (7%), Southeast Asian (6%), North American (3%), Middle Eastern/North African (1%), Jewish (1%), or Australian/New Zealand (1%). Classification of heritage cultures in terms of Hofstede's (2001) ratings of individualism revealed that 208 (75%) participants reported a heritage culture that is low in individualism, and 70 (25%) a culture high in individualism. Regarding the mainstream culture, participants were given the definition of a mainstream culture being the culture that they had moved to or were born in, that was *different* to their heritage culture. The majority of participants reported living in North America (82%). They also reported the following mainstream cultures: European (15%), Asian (1%), Middle Eastern/North African (1%), or South American (1%). As the majority of the mainstream cultures were classified as high in individualism (97%), this variable was not included in the analyses.

133 (48%) participants reported that they were first-generation migrants ( $M_{\text{years residing in host culture}}: 10.62, SD: 8.38$ ), and 145 (52%) participants reported that they were second/late generation migrants or bicultural individuals. The majority of participants were working full-time or were currently at university (combined 77%). Participants were highly educated with the majority reporting at least having completed or were pursuing an undergraduate degree (89%). Participants were recruited via Amazon MTurk, with a payment of thirty-five cents (USD) for completion of the questionnaire; this method of recruitment has been shown to be as reliable as other collection procedures, with the added benefit of providing a more diverse and representative sample of the general population in contrast to traditional college student samples (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Casler, Bickel, & Hackett, 2013).

## Materials and Procedure

Participants first completed the socio-demographic questions, and a measure of chronic self-construal (Singelis, 1994). They were then randomly assigned to one of three self-construal prime conditions: interdependent self ( $N = 92$ ), independent self ( $N = 83$ ), and control ( $N = 103$ ). After the priming task, participants completed a manipulation check and measures of intragroup marginalisation, subjective well-being, flourishing, and bicultural identity integration. All materials were in English.

**Self-Construal Scale** (SCS; Singelis, 1994). Seven items from the SCS were included to measure independence, and eight items to measure interdependence, to capture chronic self-related cognitions. Both self-construals can coexist simultaneously within individuals. The interdependent-self subscale taps into perceptions of connectedness to others and a focus on harmony and relations (e.g., “My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me”;  $\alpha = .73$ ). The independent-self subscale focuses on experiences of the self as separate and unique (e.g., “I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards”;  $\alpha = .69$ ). Due to length constraints, 15 representative items were selected from 24.<sup>8</sup> Participants indicated the extent of their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Not true at all*, 7 = *Very true*).

**Self-construal prime** (Trafimow et al., 1991). Self-construal was manipulated using a task that makes salient either an interdependent or independent self by asking participants to reflect on not only the similarities (interdependent) or the differences (independent) that they may have with their family and friends, but also what others might expect of them

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<sup>8</sup> Because I used a short-form of this scale, I analysed its structure using principal axis factoring with varimax rotation, following Singelis’s (1994) finding that the two self-construal dimensions are orthogonal. I expected only two factors to emerge, but found that three factors had eigenvalues over 1, which accounted for 33.29% of the total variance. Only the two most dominant factors were clearly interpretable, and corresponded with interdependence and independence. Five items loaded onto the first factor, which represented interdependence (e.g. “I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact”;  $\alpha = .64$ ). One cross-loading item was removed. Three items loaded onto the second factor, which represented independence (e.g. “Speaking up during class is not a problem for me”;  $\alpha = .62$ ). The remaining items did not load sufficiently strongly on any factor, they were cross-loaded, or they loaded weakly on the third, uninterpretable factor. Because of its somewhat anomalous factor structure, interpretation of any results based on this scale must be cautious.

(interdependent); conversely, to prime independence, participants are asked to reflect on their own expectations of themselves. Manipulating self-other expectations is a hallmark of highlighting differences in self-construal. Research by Trafimow and colleagues (1991) has demonstrated that the two sets of self-cognitions are distinct and separate, and that priming one increases the ease with which pertinent information regarding that aspect of the self is retrieved. Participants were shown one of three primes and asked to spend three minutes writing a response: (1) What they had in common with their family and friends and what they felt their family and friends expected of them (interdependent self); (2) What made them different to their family and friends and what their own expectations were of themselves in general (independent self); (3) The route, in detail, that they took daily to their university or place of employment to engage their imagination without priming self-construal (control condition). The author did not specify heritage culture family and friends; although family members were most likely from the heritage culture, for this task, friends could be from any culture, thus allowing individuals to consider similarities and differences from their chosen friends.

**Manipulation check.** A manipulation check question asked participants to indicate the extent of their agreement with the statement “It is important for me to maintain harmony with my group” on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*).

**Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory** (IMI; Castillo, et al., 2007). The family ( $\alpha = .80$ ) and friend ( $\alpha = .91$ ) intragroup marginalisation subscales indicated high reliability.

**Satisfaction with Life Scale** (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The SWLS used in Studies 1 and 2 was included to measure subjective well-being ( $\alpha = .91$ )

**Flourishing Scale** (Diener et al., 2010). The Flourishing scale reported in Studies 1 and 2 ( $\alpha = .93$ ) was included as an additional measure of psychological adjustment.

### **Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS-1; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).**

The BIIS-1 is composed of two subscales with four items each. Cultural identity distance measures the perceived distance between one's heritage and mainstream culture identities ( $\alpha = .66$ ; "I am simply a migrant/member of an ethnic/heritage culture group who lives in a host/mainstream culture"). Cultural identity conflict captures the perceived conflicts that arise from holding both heritage and mainstream culture identities ( $\alpha = .76$ ; "I feel caught between my ethnic/heritage and host/mainstream cultures"). Participants indicated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Disagree Strongly*, 5 = *Agree Strongly*) the extent of their agreement with each of the items, with higher scores representing higher levels of cultural distance and conflict.

## **Results**

### **Manipulation Check**

A one-way ANOVA conducted on the manipulation check item, revealed no significant differences between the three conditions,  $F(2, 274) = 1.53, p = .22$ . However, post hoc tests revealed that the difference between responses to the independent ( $M: 3.70, SD: .95$ ) and interdependent ( $M: 3.95, SD: .92$ ) primes approached significance,  $t(173) = 1.75, p = .08$ , and was in the predicted direction. Responses to the neutral prime lay between the two other groups ( $M: 3.83, SD: .94$ ). In addition, two coders blind to condition assessed participants' open-ended responses to the priming tasks. They coded for the following features: similarities to others and/or expectations that others might have of the participant (interdependent self-construal), description of uniqueness or distinctiveness of self and/or self-expectations (independent self-construal), or no mention of either (neither/neutral). Inter-rater agreement,  $\kappa = .90$ , [CI: .85, .94], was near perfect (Landis & Koch, 1977). The coders, still blind to condition, then discussed those cases where there had been a discrepancy and came to an agreement, which formed the combined coder score. The agreement between the combined coder score and the actual condition that participants had been assigned to was also near

perfect,  $\kappa = .85$ , [CI: .82, .88]. Buttressing the results for the manipulation check item, then, these findings suggest that the primes were successful in activating independent, interdependent, or neutral schemata.

### **Self-Construal and Intragroup Marginalisation**

Pearson's correlation coefficients, means, and standard deviations are reported in Table 5.1. The effects of primed self-construal on family and friend intragroup marginalisation were tested with two hierarchical regression models. All continuous variables were centred on the grand mean. The following variables were entered in the first step: age; individualism of the participant's heritage culture, based on Hofstede's (2001) ratings of individualism at the national level (effect coded as -1 for a culture high in individualism and 1 for a heritage culture low in individualism); and generational status (effect coded as -1 for a second-generation+/bicultural individual, and 1 for a first-generation migrant). Priming condition was included in the second step. Two contrasts were created: one which contrasted the control condition with the self-construal primes (2 = control; -1 = interdependent; -1 = independent) and is referred to as the control vs. prime variable, and another which directly compared the interdependent and independent self-construal conditions (-1 = interdependent; 1 = independent; 0 = control) and is referred to as the independent vs interdependent condition variable. There were significant main effects of both conditions on family but not friend intragroup marginalisation (Table 5.2). Relative to participants in the independent condition, participants primed with interdependence reported lower family intragroup marginalisation. The control vs prime variable did not significantly predict either dependent variable, indicating that there were no significant differences between priming self-construal and the control condition.

Chronic self-construal was initially included in the first step of the model. However, neither chronic independence nor interdependence predicted perceived intragroup

Table 0.1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations for Variables.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Age									
2. Interdependent	.05								
3. Independent	.23**	.44**							
4. Family IGM	-.15*	-.08	-.12*						
5. Friend IGM	-.13*	-.08	-.11	.69**					
6. Subjective well-being	.02	.30**	.39**	-.19**	-.01				
7. Flourishing	.10	.46**	.50**	-.30**	-.21**	.76**			
8. Bicultural distance	-.14*	-.09	-.13*	.22**	.21**	-.08	-.19**		
9. Bicultural conflict	.03	.09	-.04	.44**	.37**	-.16**	-.16**	.16**	
<i>Grand Mean (SD)</i>	28.49 (8.48)	39.98 (7.04)	34.45 (6.87)	36.36 (12.15)	47.68 (18.65)	16.81 (5.24)	42.23 (9.66)	10.71 (2.96)	11.02 (3.97)
<i>Neutral Condition Mean (SD)</i>	28.93 (8.55)	40.05 (7.09)	34.80 (6.63)	36.16 (13.04)	45.74 (18.49)	16.66 (5.68)	42.39 (10.04)	10.72 (3.17)	10.89 (3.96)
<i>Interdependent Condition Mean (SD)</i>	28.22 (8.64)	39.87 (7.23)	34.53 (7.45)	34.44 (12.04)	49.26 (19.85)	17.38 (4.83)	43.18 (9.05)	10.67 (2.67)	10.90 (4.00)
<i>Independent Condition Mean (SD)</i>	28.22 (8.40)	40.27 (6.69)	34.10 (6.55)	38.77 (10.82)	48.24 (17.41)	16.36 (5.19)	41.07 (9.78)	10.64 (3.06)	11.35 (4.01)

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .



Table 0.2. Predictors of Family and Friend Intragroup Marginalisation.

Model	Family IGM		Friends IGM	
	Unstandard.	$\beta$	Unstandard.	$\beta$
STEP 1 / Constant	4.82		6.96	
Age	-.18	-.12†	-.27	-.12†
Heritage culture individualism	-.04	-.003	.58	.03
Generational status	-.30	-.03	-.65	-.04
Interdependence	-.06	-.04	-.11	-.04
Independence	-.13	-.07	-.12	-.05
R <sup>2</sup>		.03		.03
STEP 2 / Constant	5.17		6.94	
Age	-.19	-.13*	-.27	-.12†
Heritage culture individualism	-.16	-.01	.65	.03
Generational status	-.29	-.02	-.59	-.03
Interdependence	-.07	-.04	-.12	-.05
Independence	-.12	-.07	-.11	-.04
Control vs. prime	-.09	-.01	-1.05	-.08
Independent vs. Interdependent	2.06	.14*	-.15	-.01
$\Delta R^2$		.02†		.01

Note: \* $p < .05$ , † $p < .08$ .

marginalisation; moreover, there were no significant interactions between chronic and primed self-construal, or between the levels of individualism of participants' heritage cultures and primed self-construal. I then investigated the two factors derived from factor analysis that represented chronic interdependence and independence. Bivariate correlations of the chronic interdependence factor with family and friend intragroup marginalisation mirrored the associations found with primed interdependence. Thus, chronic interdependence was linked with decreased perceptions of intragroup marginalisation from family,  $r = -.14$ ,  $p < .05$ , and friends,  $r = -.20$ ,  $p < .05$ , further bolstering the priming results. Chronic independence was not correlated with intragroup marginalisation. I included these two factors indexing chronic interdependence and independence in the regression models predicting family and friend intragroup marginalisation. The priming effects of independence vs. interdependence remained significant in predicting family intragroup marginalisation,  $\beta = .14$ ,  $p < .05$ . Additionally, chronic interdependence was linked with decreased friend intragroup marginalisation,  $\beta = -.25$ ,  $p < .005$ , and it was marginally associated with decreased family intragroup

marginalisation,  $\beta = -.13$ ,  $p = .06$ . While the results for chronic interdependence are in line with the results for primed interdependence, the anomalous nature of the measure of chronic self-construal meant the analyses focused primarily on primed self-construal. Overall, these results support the hypothesis that priming an interdependent self-construal provided a buffer against intragroup marginalisation whilst priming an independent self-construal increased family intragroup marginalisation.

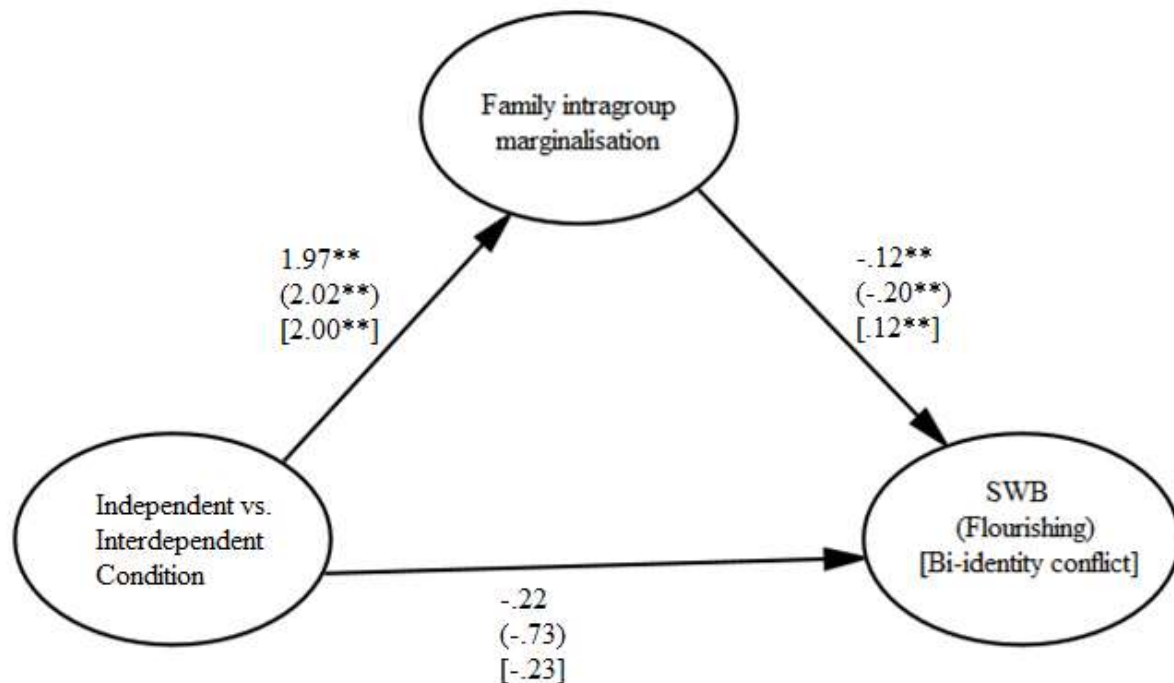
### **Indirect Effects of Self-Construal on Psychological Adjustment**

Hierarchical regression models indicated that family intragroup marginalisation was significantly correlated with both indicators of psychological adjustment, and bicultural identity conflict (Table 5.3), providing support for indirect effects of self-construal on psychological adjustment and identity conflict through family intragroup marginalisation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Bootstrap procedures (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) then tested whether there were any indirect effects of independent and interdependent self-construals on psychological adjustment and identity conflict through intragroup marginalisation. Three mediation models were tested. To replicate the hierarchical regression models, all previous control variables were included as covariates (age, generational status, and heritage culture individualism) along with friend intragroup marginalisation, and the priming versus control condition contrast variable. Examination of the 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (CI) from 5,000 bootstrap samples revealed support for all three indirect effects of primed self-construal on psychological adjustment and identity conflict through family intragroup marginalisation. The indirect effects of primed independent vs. interdependent self-construal via family intragroup marginalisation on subjective well-being [CI:  $-.54$ ,  $-.06$ ], flourishing [CI:  $-.95$ ,  $-.12$ ], and bicultural identity conflict [CI:  $.09$ ,  $.48$ ] were significant (all three pathways are illustrated in Figure 5.1). Priming interdependent self-construal therefore appeared to buffer against intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, its detrimental effect on

Table 0.3. Association of Intragroup Marginalisation with Psychological Adjustment.

Model	Subjective well-being		Flourishing		Bicultural identity conflict		Bicultural identity distance	
	Unstandardized	$\beta$	Unstandardized	$\beta$	Unstandardized	$\beta$	Unstandardized	$\beta$
STEP 1 / Constant	1.49		.35		.13		.66	
Age	-.04	-.06	-.002	-.002	-.01	-.01	-.03	-.08
Heritage culture individualism	-.36	-.06	.11	.01	.22	.05	.31	.09
Generational status	.52	.10	-.31	-.03	.05	.01	.56	.19**
Interdependence	.15	.19**	.40	.29**	.07	.12	-.02	-.04
Independence	.24	.32**	.55	.40**	-.05	-.09	-.03	-.07
R <sup>2</sup>		.21**		.34**		.02		.06*
STEP 2 / Constant	1.71		1.49		-.77		.39	
Age	-.05	-.07	-.04	-.04	.03	.05	-.02	-.05
Heritage culture individualism	-.44	-.07	-.01	-.001	.27	.06	.31	.09
Generational status	.52	.10	-.44	-.05	.16	.04	.60	.21**
Interdependence	.15	.20**	.38	.28**	.08	.14*	-.01	-.03
Independence	.24	.32**	.53	.38**	-.03	-.06	-.02	-.05
Family intragroup marginalisation	-.13	-.29**	-.22	-.27**	.11	.35**	.01	.05
Friend intragroup marginalisation	.07	.25**	.02	.04	.03	.12	.03	.17*
$\Delta R^2$		.05**		.06**		.18**		.04*

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p \leq .005$ .



C-paths:  
 SWB: -.45  
 Flourishing: -1.14†  
 Bicultural identity conflict: .01

Figure 0.1. The indirect effects of primed self-construal on subjective well-being, flourishing, and bicultural identity conflict. \*\*  $p \leq .005$ , †  $p = .07$ .

psychological adjustment and identity conflict. Conversely, participants primed with independent self-construal reported higher family intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, decreased psychological adjustment and bicultural identity conflict. For each of the three models, there was a decrease between the total effect (c-path) and the direct effect (c'-path), indicating partial mediation through family intragroup marginalisation, although neither of the paths were significant. The lack of a significant c-path does not disconfirm a partial indirect effect via a mediating variable, particularly when the causal process between predictor and outcome variables is complex and lateral (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Indeed, a significant indirect effect of  $X$  on  $Y$  through  $M$  (the mediating variable) is valid despite the lack of a significant association between  $X$  and  $Y$ ; the total association path, after all, theoretically includes all of the direct and indirect paths between the two variables, which

may act in opposing directions and are not all measured in the proposed model (Hayes, 2009). The three mediation models support the presence of a pathway between self-construal to psychological adjustment and identity conflict through family intragroup marginalisation.

### **Discussion**

Collectively, the results supported the hypothesis that priming an interdependent self-construal exerted a protective effect on psychological adjustment (subjective well-being and flourishing) and bicultural identity conflict through decreased intragroup marginalisation from family. Conversely, priming an independent self resulted in increased family intragroup marginalisation, which in turn was linked with poor psychological adjustment and increased identity conflict. This research provides further insight into the differing pathways linking self-construal with psychological adjustment and identity conflict, specifically, in the beneficial aspects of interdependent self-construal.

### **Primed Self-Construal and Intragroup Marginalisation**

Priming the interdependent self provided a buffer against family intragroup marginalisation relative to priming the independent self. Notably, the interdependent self-construal prime asked participants to recall the ways in which they were similar to their family and friends and the expectations that they perceived were required of them by others. Making these expectations salient decreased perceptions of rejection. I discuss two pathways that underlie these findings. First, through asking participants to reflect on the similarities between themselves and close others in the priming task, less information about discrepancies between the self and others is accessible when recalling experiences of intragroup marginalisation. In line with previous findings that private and collective self-cognitions are stored in separate locations in memory (Singelis, 1994; Trafimow et al., 1991), the results imply that intragroup marginalisation taps into the discrepancy between cognitions of the private and collective self, particularly in reference to the tensions and expectations of the

heritage culture social identity. Furthermore, self-consistency is only weakly linked with well-being and perceptions of authenticity for individuals with a relational-interdependent self (Cross, Gore, & Morris, 2003). The priority is thus shifted to fitting in successfully within different contexts (Cross et al., 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). When primed with an interdependent self, individuals are thus much more aware of the standards and expectations of heritage culture members on their social identity. Consequently, individuals may perceive acceptance from their heritage culture without experiencing compromise or inauthenticity for their self.

Second, the current findings lend further support to the differences in motivation across self-construals in an intergroup context (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2010). The motivation of interdependent individuals to prioritise social goals, such as maintaining harmony with others (van Horen et al., 2008), and to internalise in-group pressures for goal pursuit (Downie, Koestner, Horberg, & Haga, 2006) are translatable to maintenance of social norms required by the heritage culture group, thereby avoiding intragroup marginalisation. Further research on self-construal and intragroup marginalisation should investigate whether self-construal influences individuals' internal conflict in maintaining a social identity that is acceptable to the heritage culture group at the potential cost of adjusting to the mainstream culture. Finally, the association of interdependent self-construal with prevention-focused strategies, such as fulfilment of obligations and loss-avoidance in goal pursuit (Lee, Aaker, & Gardner, 2000) can be linked to the motivation to minimise risks in exclusion from the heritage culture. I surmise that prevention-focused individuals would be highly attentive to the pressures from and information about the heritage culture in order to avoid accusations of not maintaining the social identity and resulting intragroup marginalisation.

Conversely, participants primed with an independent self-construal reported increased family intragroup marginalisation. Paralleling the two pathways linking primed self-construal

and interdependence, I focus on two underlying factors – recall and motivation – in situating the present findings. Requiring individuals to reflect on what they expect of themselves and the ways that they differ from their family and friends primes the independent self, and in this vein, the notion that the self is separate and unique from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). One of the links to increased intragroup marginalisation may be the focus on the private self at the expense of the collective self during recall (Trafimow et al., 1991). The Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory (Castillo et al., 2007) centres on the premise of difference, an attribute that is part and parcel of the independent self. Thus, individuals primed with independence attend to those instances in which their attributes differed from the prescribed heritage culture identity that they perceived their family expected of them. The link between consistency and authenticity has been reported to be highly significant for individuals low in relational self-construal (Cross et al., 2003); for independent individuals it may be crucial to maintain the authenticity of their self through consistency, rather than prescribing to the heritage culture identity when interacting with other in-group members. The ideal self for individuals with independent self-construal is composed of autonomous self-knowledge (e.g., traits, attitudes, preferences) and is context independent (Hannover et al., 2006). Collectively, these findings provide further support that individuals primed with independent self-construal recall experiences of behaving in line with their inner self at the expense of acceptance by the heritage culture. Further research could seek to establish whether individuals who feel rejected by heritage culture members derogate them in response (Bourgeois & Leary, 2001).

Regarding the second pathway, the independent self is characterized by individually-oriented achievement motivation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Previous research has revealed that individuals with an independent self-construal are motivated to exhibit behaviour that is likely to portray them as skilful and capable, at the cost of being seen as socially sensitive or normative (Lalwani & Shavitt, 2009). The results further bolster the association between an

independent self-construal and motivation for pursuing personal goals (Downie et al., 2006; van Horen et al., 2008), specifically in internalising the behaviours and values of the mainstream culture despite potential intragroup marginalisation. Furthermore, within the self-construal framework, independence has been linked with a perception that relationships (Markus & Kitayama, 2010) and group memberships (Triandis, 1989) are voluntary and based on social exchange. Accordingly, I argue that such motivations underlie the current findings, with participants primed with independence motivated to report behaviours that imply capability, such as knowledge of the values of the mainstream culture. Alternatively, mainstream values and behaviours may be internalised into the core self, and thus create conflict with the requirements and norms prescribed by the heritage culture group. Further research should seek to elaborate the effects of primed independent self-construal on endorsement of the mainstream culture social identity, and whether independent self-construal is linked with an individual's own perception of being a member of the heritage culture group. Taken together, the results imply that an interdependent self-construal serves a protective function against intragroup marginalisation, whilst independent self-construal increases perceived rejection from members of the heritage culture.

In contrast to the significant effects of primed self-construal, only chronic interdependence was linked with decreased intragroup marginalisation from friends; however, bivariate correlations indicated a similar pattern for family intragroup marginalisation. Although these results bolster the theoretical arguments, results should not be over-interpreted because I used a non-standard measure of self-construal. However, these results do suggest that chronic and primed self-construal show similar associations with intragroup marginalisation. I surmise that this lack of association may be owing to the scale used to measure chronic self-construal. Future research should seek to replicate the results for chronic self-construal using the full version of the Self-Construal Scale. It should be noted



that prior meta-analytic research on the construct validity of the Self-Construal Scale, along with two other measures of chronic self-construal, has demonstrated its inconsistency (Levine, Bresnahan, Park, Lapinski, Lee, et al., 2003; Levine, Bresnahan, Park, Lapinski, Wittenbaum, et al., 2003). Researchers have questioned the presence of a Western bias evidenced in the use of self-report measures which are incompatible with the flexible nature of an interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1998), the suitability of a two-factor structure of self-construal as the best fit to the data (Hardin, Leong, & Bhagwat, 2004), and whether the Self-Construal Scale measures that which it purports (Levine et al., 2003). Thus, the lack of a significant relationship between chronic self-construal and intragroup marginalisation may simply be owing to the self-construal measure used here. Further research should investigate the relationship between chronic self-construal and perceived intragroup marginalisation through using different measures of self-construal (e.g., Gudykunst et al., 1996). Nonetheless, the significant effects of the priming measure indicate that self-construal has an impact on perceptions of intragroup marginalisation.

It is important to note that priming self-construal affected perceptions of marginalisation from family only; perceptions of marginalisation from friends were not affected. Moreover, only family intragroup marginalisation was associated with decreased psychological adjustment. This pattern of results may be explained by two reasons. First, the study did not assess the number of heritage and mainstream culture friends that participants had. Because of the voluntary nature of friendships (Hays, 1988), if individuals perceive rejection from heritage culture friends, they may choose to leave those friendships and form new ones. Such a reaction towards family members is not as easily available, as family ties may be perceived as less controllable and more permanent than friendships. Thus, it is possible that some participants did not have enough heritage culture friends from whom they felt marginalised. Second, it may be that friendships do not exert the same impact on well-

being as family relationships do. Chronic perceptions of rejection from one's family may be seen as a relatively irremediable; whereas individuals can leave or deprioritise friendships where they feel rejected, they may feel bound to their family, and, in turn, experience poor psychological adjustment and a conflicted bicultural identity.

### **Indirect Effects of Primed Self-Constraint on Psychological Adjustment**

The positive and negative effects of interdependent and independent primed self-construal, respectively, carried over through both indicators of psychological adjustment and identity conflict through family intragroup marginalisation. Priming individuals with an interdependent self provided a buffer against the detrimental association of family intragroup marginalisation with decreased subjective well-being and flourishing. Previous research links interdependent self-construal with decreased personal well-being (Diener & Suh, 2000). For example, Suh (2007) highlights the disadvantages of an interdependent self-construal when approached from a Western perspective of well-being because aspects of an interdependent self are incompatible with the pursuit of personal well-being. In contrast, the current findings suggest that the interdependent self enhances psychological adjustment. The results provide further support for the distinction between the motivations and methods that individuals with differing self-construals pursue in attaining psychological well-being. In regards to bicultural identity conflict, the results suggest that perceiving the self as embedded in one's social relationships exerts a protective effect over intragroup marginalisation. In turn, the perceived external pressure of intragroup marginalisation increases conflict between one's mainstream and heritage culture identity. I surmise that one important aspect of a harmonious bicultural identity is the perception that one's identity is accepted and valued by other members of the heritage culture. The pathway between self-construal and psychological adjustment is likely complex as there were no significant direct effects between the two. Further research should seek to replicate the beneficial effects of an interdependent self on psychological adjustment

and decreased identity conflict through an increased sense of acceptance by one's heritage culture.

In contrast, individuals primed with an independent self-construal reported increased family marginalisation, which in turn was associated with decreased subjective well-being and flourishing. Regarding bicultural identity conflict, priming independence increased perceptions of rejection from family, and in turn, a conflicted bicultural identity. Making salient to individuals the ways that they are different from close others may account for the detrimental indirect effects on psychological adjustment and increased identity conflict. The sense of belonging is a basic human need (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1968), even for independent individuals. The current findings provide support for the “dark sides of each culture” (Suh, 2007, p. 1338), through portraying one of the pathways in which independent self-construal has an indirect effect on poor psychological adjustment and increased identity conflict. Further research should investigate whether individuals primed with an independent self-construal reap benefits from other areas of their life, such as through identification with the mainstream culture, or from convictions of authenticity and self-consistency (Cross et al., 2003) in the face of intragroup marginalisation.

### **Limitations**

The limitations of Study 4 centre on inclusion of further variables and the participant sample demographics. First, I did not measure social interaction with members of the mainstream culture. There may exist yet uncovered links between primed self-construal and intragroup marginalisation that are mediated by the degree of interaction and affiliation with the mainstream culture, as exemplified by the link between interdependent self-construals and positive interactions with members of the mainstream culture (Nezlek, Schaafsma, Safron, & Krejtz, 2011). In terms of outcome variables, further research could extend the present findings through the inclusion of other indicators of adjustment, including acculturative stress

(Benet-Martinez, 2003; Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011), depression, negative emotions, and physical health.

Additionally, a cross-cultural participant sample was recruited to investigate the link between self-construal and intragroup marginalisation. Due to the lack of geographical constraint in participant collection, the distribution of participants' heritage cultures on the individualism spectrum was unequal, with most falling on the low-individualist end. Additionally, due to the extensive variety of the participants' heritage and mainstream cultures, hierarchical linear modelling was not possible. However, individualism levels of heritage culture were controlled for by including the effect-coded variable in the analyses, which did not influence the pattern of findings.

Furthermore, only one aspect of interdependence and independence – similarity to or difference with close others was focused on. Indeed, the priming measure by Trafimow and colleagues (1991) operationalized interdependence as similarity to close others, and independence as uniqueness from close others. Further research should seek to replicate the findings by priming other aspects of an interdependent and independent self-construal, such as obligation to one's in-group versus following one's own wishes. Such research would further clarify whether certain aspects of the interdependent self – perceived similarity to the in-group versus feeling obligated – provide a protective effect against perceptions of intragroup marginalisation and the resulting poor psychological adjustment.

#### **Study 4: Conclusions**

The results showed that priming an interdependent self protected individuals from the detrimental effects of intragroup marginalisation on psychological adjustment and identity conflict, whereas priming an independent self increased intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, decreased psychological adjustment and increased identity conflict. The interdependent self may exert beneficial effects through seeking to maintain the heritage group social

identity and thus prevent exclusion, or through focusing on similarities with other members of the heritage culture. Conversely, the independent self may increase experiences of intragroup marginalisation due to behaving in accordance with the distinct and stable aspects of the self, or through focusing on the ways that they are unique to other members of their heritage group during recall of intragroup marginalisation. Clinical interventions that focus on the similarities between individuals and members of their heritage culture may provide respite from intragroup marginalisation, and in turn, promote well-being, flourishing, and a harmonious bicultural identity. The findings suggest that individuals are not islands, separate and free from the restrictions of their heritage culture; maintaining separation carries repercussions for well-being.

### **Study 5: The Association of Conservation Values and Perceived Cultural Distance with Intragroup Marginalisation**

In addition to attachment orientations and self-construal, values and perceived cultural distance may also influence experiences of intragroup marginalisation. Values are the abstract goals by which individuals steer their lives (Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994). They underlie the motivations that shape many facets of our lives and are argued to be the glue that hold cultures together (Morris, 2013). Schwartz (1994, 2006) posited the existence of 10 universal values, which has been largely supported by cross-cultural research (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). The hierarchy of these ten values is argued to give each culture its distinctive taste, or, alternatively, binds cultures together (Schwartz, 1994). Values can be investigated at both societal and individual levels (Schwartz, 2010; 2011). Indeed, discrepancy between the two levels is linked with decreased adjustment (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000; Sorthaix & Lonnqvist, 2013). These findings parallel the intragroup marginalisation process: as bicultural individuals are exposed to the mainstream culture and choose to adopt a mainstream cultural identity, they may experience conflict with their heritage culture. In this vein, they may perceive that they are no longer meeting the expectations of their heritage culture and perceive intragroup marginalisation because of the mismatch of their identity. However, if individuals value security, conformity, and tradition, they may be motivated to maintain their heritage culture identity and thus avoid rejection from other in-group members.

An additional factor which might lead individuals to perceive a conflict between their heritage and mainstream cultures is cultural distance. Perceived cultural distance refers to the perception of differences between cultures (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980). The greater the perceived distance between cultures, the more difficulty individuals might experience in reconciling their heritage and mainstream identities without feeling like they are not meeting the expectations of their heritage culture. Thus, they might perceive intragroup

marginalisation. This study aimed to examine the association of perceived cultural distance and conservation values with intragroup marginalisation and, in turn, decreased psychological adjustment.

## **Values**

Values can be considered some of the crucial threads from which culture is weaved. Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) conceptualised values as cognitive representations of three universal needs: the biological needs of an organism, interpersonal needs, and the societal demands for group coherence, cohesion, and survival. Furthermore, following their extensive review of literature on value theory, they stipulated that values can be defined as desirable beliefs or concepts which transcend situations, have end states (e.g. behaviours which accomplish them), and are prioritised relative to each other. The ten values can be situated in a circumplex, arranged in terms of their motivation, with adjacent values possessing compatible goals, and those that are opposite representing conflicting goals (Schwartz, 1994). Research indicates that the structure of values is similarly represented in memory as the proposed theoretical circumplex (Pakizeh, Gebauer, & Maio, 2007), further supporting the validity of the arrangement and relationship amongst variables on the basis of their motivational content. Two higher order dimensions are argued to underlie the values (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). The present study focused on the conservation – openness to change dimension, and, in particular, on the former aspect of the dimension. If openness to change represents self-direction in thoughts and behaviour and endorsement of change, then conservation is the opposing side of the coin, consisting of values which emphasise maintaining stability through conforming and adhering to traditional practices (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). These dimensions have proven robust in value research cross-culturally (Verkasalo, Longqvist Jan-Erik, Lipsanen, & Helkama, 2008).

Tradition, conformity, and security are adjacent values which collectively form the dimension of conservation in the value framework (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). Schwartz (1994, 2006) defined these three values as follows. Tradition values reflect respect and commitment to the practices, customs, and beliefs of one's group, and are necessary for ensuring cultural continuity. They entail subservience to abstract cultural institutions and symbols. The driving goals of conformity values are to maintain harmonious interactions and group functioning. Indeed, conformity is ubiquitous in many value theories (for a review, see Schwartz, 2006), and focuses on the self-restraint of an individual (e.g., obedience) to avoid disrupting social norms and expectations and harming or upsetting others. Security represents stability at the individual, relationship, and group level and also refers to harmony. It is derived from the basic requirements of safety for individuals and groups (e.g. Maslow, 1968). These three values are socially motivated (Schwartz, 2006), and thus, may play an important role in how individuals approach and conceptualise interpersonal processes. These three conservation values also characterise collectivist societies and tend to be transmitted more successfully than their individualist counterparts by parents to their children, in part because they serve to maintain group bonds (Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001; Schonpflug, 2001). Thus, conservation values are likely to be important to maintaining a heritage culture identity.

However, values change over the lifespan, particularly in response to situations which demand quick shifts, such as migration (Rudnev, 2014). Individuals may experience intragroup marginalisation if their values change to align with the mainstream culture and oppose the values prescribed by their heritage culture. Although the Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory (IMI; Castillo et al., 2007) measures discrepancy in values between the individual and their heritage culture, it does so through one item which only asks individuals whether they perceive that their family/friends have difficulty accepting their new values. By investigating specific values which provide useful guidelines on interaction with



others, we can further understand how they can shape perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. If conservation values (conformity, security, and tradition) are successfully transmitted to bicultural individuals – if they endorse these values in their self-reports – their motivations may be in line with their heritage culture in-group in maintaining close bonds and a shared identity, resulting in decreased intragroup marginalisation. The following study focused on the conservation dimension because these values share similarities with aspects of the interdependent self-construal, which also endorses security and conformity (Oishi, Schimmack, Diener, & Suh, 1998), and which was linked with decreased family intragroup marginalisation (Study 4).

### **Cultural Distance**

Cultural distance was originally conceived within psychiatric research as an important factor which predisposed students to experience ‘culture shock’ (Babiker et al., 1980). Objective cultural distance between two cultures can be measured using a variety of indices, such as economy (GDP or income inequality indicators), climate, the language spoken, Hofstede’s (2001) dimensions (e.g., collectivism-individualism), or the tightness or looseness of cultures (Gelfand et al., 2011). Thus, cultural distance is often measured implicitly and at the cultural level using these indicators (Geeraert & Demoulin, 2013; Polek et al., 2010). In this study, however, individuals were asked to self-report the distances between their respective heritage and mainstream on a wide range of criteria (e.g., in climate, cultural institutions, beliefs, and personal interactions). As such, the focus was on *perceived* cultural distance. Indeed, individuals can perceive their cultures to be distant whilst objective measures might miss subjective perceptions that are idiosyncratic. The Perceived Cultural Distance Scale (Ait Ouarasse & van de Vijver, 2004) has two advantages: because it asks respondents to compare their heritage and mainstream cultures on a multitude of aspects which include geographic, financial, cultural, political, and social differences, it allows for a

generalised score of cultural distance. Second, it focuses on a subjective experience of cultural distance. Perceived cultural distance may be a stronger predictor of intragroup marginalisation than objective indices of cultural distance because it centres on the personal criteria of each respondent. Differences in GDP or climate may not be important in perceptions of whether one's cultural identities are compatible. Importantly, research has demonstrated the low concordance between perceived cultural distance and objective measures, and also the stronger predictive power of perceived cultural distance for psychological outcomes (Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009).

Perceived cultural distance is linked with distress (Furukawa, 1997), mood disturbances (Ward & Searle, 1991), and poor sociocultural and psychological adjustment (Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009; Zlobina, Basabe, Paez, & Furnham, 2006). It is hypothesised that perceived cultural distance is linked with increased intragroup marginalisation because of the difficulties that individuals face in reconciling both identities in a way that they feel still meets the expectations of their heritage culture. Additionally, increased intragroup marginalisation may be one of the important pathways through which perceived cultural distance is linked to poor psychological adjustment (Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009), and an integrated bicultural identity. To the author's knowledge, this study is the first to investigate the association between perceived cultural distance and an integrated bicultural identity.

### **Aims and Hypotheses**

The aims of this study were threefold. First, it aimed to delineate whether perceived cultural distance between an individual's heritage and mainstream cultures was linked with intragroup marginalisation. Second, it investigated the contribution of the three values comprising Schwartz's (2006) conservation dimension (conformity, security, and tradition) to intragroup marginalisation. Finally, it aimed to investigate the link between the four independent variables (cultural distance and the three values comprising the conservation

dimension) and intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, with decreased psychological adjustment and a less integrated bicultural identity. To this end four hypotheses were tested.

*Hypothesis 1.* Greater perceived cultural distance will be linked with increased intragroup marginalisation.

*Hypothesis 2.* Greater security, conformity, and tradition will be linked with decreased intragroup marginalisation.

*Hypothesis 3.* Intragroup marginalisation will be linked with decreased psychological adjustment (subjective well-being and flourishing), and a less integrated bicultural identity.

*Hypothesis 4.* The indirect effects of cultural distance will be linked with increased intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, with decreased psychological adjustment and a conflicted and distant bicultural identity. Conversely, valuing security, conformity, and tradition will correlate with decreased intragroup marginalisation, and, in turn, with decreased psychological adjustment and a conflicted and distant bicultural identity.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

220 participants completed the online survey ( $M_{\text{age}}$ : 29.65,  $SD$ : 10.17; female: 117, male: 101, transgender: 1, missing: 1). Participants were not restricted in their heritage and mainstream cultures; however, criteria demanded that participants have a different heritage culture from their culture of residence/ mainstream culture, either through being first generation migrants, or through being second or later generation bicultural individuals. 26% of individuals reported a heritage culture from Europe, followed by South America (19%), North America (10%), East Asia (9%), South Asia (9%), Africa (8%), Southeast Asia (6%), mixed heritage cultures (6%), North Africa and the Middle East (4%), the Caribbean (2%), and Australia/New Zealand (1%). Heritage cultures were classified on the basis of how individualist they were using Hofstede's (2001) ratings. 166 participants (75.5%) reported a

heritage culture that is traditionally low in individualism, and 54 (24.5%) a heritage culture high in individualism. In terms of mainstream cultures, the majority of participants reported living in North America (68%), followed by Europe (27%), South America (2%), Southeast Asia (1%), Africa (.5%), Australia/New Zealand (.5%), East Asia (.5%), and North Africa and the Middle East (.5%). As the majority of participants reported residing in a mainstream culture high in individualism (199 participants; 91%), this variable was not included the analysis.

130 (59%) participants were first-generation migrants ( $M_{\text{years residing in host culture}}: 9.62$ ,  $SD: 8.89$ ), and 90 (41%) were second or later generation migrants/bicultural individuals. For the most part, participants were either pursuing or had attained their Bachelor's degree (57%), or were working towards or had completed a postgraduate degree (21%). Participants also reported the following highest attained qualifications: A-Levels or equivalent (15%), other (4%), GCSEs or equivalent (2%), and professional degree (1%). A notable proportion of participants reported working (45%) or studying (26%) full time. They also reported the following employment statuses: working part-time (14%), self-employed (7%), unemployed (6%), and other (2%). Participants were collected online via two means. First, participants were recruited through an online social psychology website ([www.socialpsychology.org/](http://www.socialpsychology.org/)), where they could complete the survey without reward. Participants were also collected using Amazon MTurk, and were paid thirty-five cents (USD) upon completion of the survey.

## **Materials and Procedure**

Participants completed the survey via an online survey-hosting website ([surveymonkey.com](http://surveymonkey.com)). They first completed a socio-demographic section before being presented with the following measures. All materials were in English.

**Perceived Cultural Distance Scale** (Ait Ouarasse & van de Vijver, 2004). The Perceived Cultural Distance scale is composed of 22 items which describe aspects of daily

life. Participants are asked to rate how similar or different they perceive their heritage and mainstream cultures to be. The items range from ecological aspects (climate) to social (family relations, social contacts, public manners), to cultural (music, celebrations, food), to political (politics, freedom, health services), in order to capture a wide range of domains. Greater perceived cultural distance implies that participants see their two cultures as being very different and distant. As heritage and mainstream cultures were not restricted, instructions directed participants to think of their ‘heritage’ and ‘mainstream/host’ cultures. Participants used a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Very Different*, 7 = *Very Similar*). The scale was reverse-scored for ease of interpretation, such that higher scores indicated greater perceived cultural distance. It demonstrated high reliability ( $\alpha = .95$ ).

**Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ;** Schwartz et al., 2001). Three subscales from the PVQ were included to measure the three values forming the conservation dimension: security ( $\alpha = .80$ ), tradition ( $\alpha = .74$ ), and conformity ( $\alpha = .83$ ). The added benefit of the PVQ is in its presentation, as each item is a short vignette. Thus, this measure is structured to capture the values of participants who may not have grown up in a Western culture which emphasises abstract and context-free thinking (Schwartz, 2004). The security subscale (e.g., “It is important to her to live in secure surroundings. She avoids anything that might endanger her safety”) focuses on goals of stability and safety, both for the individual, such as being healthy and clean, and on a group level, such as maintaining social order. The tradition subscale (e.g., “She believes it is best to do things in traditional ways. It is important to her to follow the customs she has learned”) focuses on the goal of maintaining and respecting the cultural and religious norms and customs of one’s culture. Whilst conceptually close to the value of tradition (Schwartz, 2004), conformity (e.g., “It is important to her to be obedient. She believes she should always show respect to her parents and to older people”) focuses on displaying restraint and obedience to avoid damaging or disrupting the relationships with

whom one interacts often. Thus, the motivation of conformity is directed towards more concrete targets (e.g., parents, elders). Participants indicated on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *Not Like Me At All*, 6 = *Very Much Like Me*) the extent to which they felt that each person described was like them.

**Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory** (IMI; Castillo et al., 2007). The same version used in Studies 1-4 was used in Study 6. Cronbach's alphas were robust for both the friend (16 items;  $\alpha = .92$ ) and family (11 items;  $\alpha = .81$ ) subscales of the IMI.

**Bicultural Identity Integration Scale** (BII-S; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). As with Study 4, the distance (4 items;  $\alpha = .51$ ) and conflict (4 items;  $\alpha = .75$ ) subscales were used to measure an individual's perception of their bicultural identity.

**Satisfaction with Life Scale** (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The five item SWLS ( $\alpha = .87$ ) was included as a measure of subjective well-being.

**Flourishing Scale** (Diener et al., 2010). The 8-item Flourishing scale ( $\alpha = .93$ ) was included as a complement to the SWLS.

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and Pearson's correlations are reported in Table 6.1. Hierarchical regression models were conducted to test the hypotheses. All of the following variables were entered in the first step of the following models: age, gender (-1 for males, 1 for females) cultural background (-1 for second+ generation migrants/bicultural individuals, 1 for first generation migrants), and the individualism of the heritage culture (-1 for a culture high in individualism, 1 for a culture low in individualism). Conservation values were entered in the second step, and perceived cultural distance in the third step.

### Cultural Distance and Intragroup Marginalisation

Opposite to Hypothesis 1, the more distance that participants perceived between their

Table 0.1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations for Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Age												
2. Gender	-.06											
3. Cultural distance	-.03	.10										
4. Tradition	.06	.10	.02									
5. Conformity	.10	.11	.05	.63**								
6. Security	.09	.08	.04	.45**	.57**							
7. Identity conflict	-.03	.04	.13	.23**	.18*	.06						
8. Identity distance	.05	-.20*	.24**	.18*	-.03	.09	.20*					
9. Family IGM	-.18	-.08	-.10	.03	-.05	-.18	.30**	.02				
10. Friend IGM	.14	-.04	-.19	.14*	.05	-.09	.24**	.03	.73**			
11. SWB	.01	.06	-.05	.07	.11	.02	-.07	.04	-.17*	-.11		
12. Flourishing	.04	.10	.07	.13	.15*	.22**	-.01	-.08	-.23**	-.25**	.68**	
<i>Mean</i>	29.65	-	102.16	15.11	16.13	21.14	11.71	11.14	34.75	46.30	17.32	43.56
<i>SD</i>	10.17	-	25.90	4.50	4.51	4.98	3.74	3.14	12.32	19.56	4.48	8.81

*Note:* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ . Gender: females = 1, males = -1.

heritage and mainstream cultures, the less intragroup marginalisation they reported from their heritage culture friends, as illustrated in Table 6.2. Perceived cultural distance was not linked with family intragroup marginalisation.

Table 0.2. Predictors of Intragroup Marginalisation.

Model	Family intragroup marginalisation		Friend intragroup marginalisation	
	Unstandardized		Unstandardized	
	<i>b</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>B</i>
STEP 1 / Constant	39.23		50.73	
Gender	-.18	-.01	.34	.02
Age	-.18	-.14†	-.22	-.11
Generation	-.02	-.002	1.30	.06
Heritage culture	.92	.06	1.60	.07
R <sup>2</sup>		.02		.02
STEP 2 / Constant	44.70		50.88	
Gender	-.02	-.001	.07	.003
Age	-.17	-.13	-.22	-.11
Generation	.09	.01	1.22	.06
Heritage culture	.85	.06	.71	.03
Security	-.47	-.19*	-.65	-.17†
Conformity	-.09	-.03	.10	.02
Tradition	.37	.13	.84	.19†
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.03		.04
STEP 3 / Constant	49.23		64.29	
Gender	.10	.01	.32	
Age	-.17	-.13	-.23	.02
Generation	.16	.01	1.32	-.11
Heritage culture	1.13	.07	1.46	.07
Security	-.47	-.19†	-.64	-.16
Conformity	-.08	-.03	.11	.03
Tradition	.35	.12	.81	.19†
Cultural distance	-.04	-.09	-.13	-.17*
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.01		.03*

Note: \* $p < .05$ , † $p \leq .08$ .

### Conservation Values and Intragroup Marginalisation

Only one conservation value, security, was associated with family intragroup marginalisation. Greater endorsement of security was linked with decreased family intragroup marginalisation. This association approached significance ( $p = .08$ ) for friend intragroup marginalisation. Conversely, greater endorsement of the value of tradition was



marginally ( $p = .06$ ) linked with increased intragroup marginalisation from friends. All results are reported in Table 6.2.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Psychological Adjustment**

Neither family nor friend intragroup marginalisation were associated with subjective well-being. Only intragroup marginalisation from friends was linked with decreased flourishing (Table 6.3). Additionally, family intragroup marginalisation was linked with increased bicultural identity conflict. This provided partial support for Hypothesis 3 – that intragroup marginalisation is negatively associated with psychological adjustment and a conflicted and distant bicultural identity.<sup>9</sup>

### **Indirect Effects through Intragroup Marginalisation**

Collectively, the associations between values and intragroup marginalisation were marginal, and the finding that greater cultural distance was linked with less friend intragroup marginalisation was in opposition to Hypothesis 1. Importantly, one of the assumptions (Baron & Kenny, 1986) that is advised for mediation was not met, as security, cultural distance, and tradition (the IVs) were not correlated (Table 6.1) with the psychological outcome variables (C-paths). Thus, as the analyses would have been data- as opposed to theory-driven, indirect effects were not tested.

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<sup>9</sup> The moderating effects of age, gender, generation and heritage culture collectivism on the association between intragroup marginalisation and psychological adjustment were tested simultaneously in hierarchical regression models. No moderating effects were observed, save for two interaction terms. First, the interaction of age and friend intragroup marginalisation for decreased bicultural identity distance was significant,  $\beta = -.42, p < .05$ . Simple slope analysis of friend intragroup marginalisation one standard deviation above and one below the mean age indicated a negative association between friend intragroup marginalisation and bicultural identity distance for older participants (1 SD above the mean),  $\beta = -.13, p = .03$ , but not younger ones,  $\beta = .01, p = .78$ . The results imply that for older individuals friend intragroup marginalisation was correlated with decreased bicultural identity distance. It may be that for those who are older intragroup marginalisation is not as an important factor for an integrated bicultural identity as they have already developed a relatively stable bicultural identity. Second, the interaction of collectivism and friend intragroup marginalisation for decreased bicultural identity conflict was also significant,  $\beta = -.52, p < .05$ . Simple slope analysis revealed that for individuals from individualist heritage cultures friend intragroup marginalisation was linked with increased bicultural identity conflict,  $\beta = .67, p = .03$ , but not for individualist from collectivist heritage cultures,  $\beta = -.13, p = .37$ . These results parallel the findings from Study 4, regarding the protective effects of interdependent (collectivist) versus independent (individualist) self-construals on intragroup marginalisation and psychological adjustment.

Table 0.3. Association of Intragroup Marginalisation with Psychological Adjustment.

Model	Subjective well-being		Flourishing		Bicultural Identity Conflict		Bicultural Identity Distance	
	Unstandardized $\beta$	$\beta$	Unstandardized $\beta$	$\beta$	Unstandardized $\beta$	$\beta$	Unstandardized $\beta$	$\beta$
STEP 1 / Constant	16.90		42.74		10.79		10.99	
Gender	.19	.04	.85	.10	.29	.08	-.62	-.19*
Age	.01	.03	.02	.02	.01	.04	.01	.02
Generational status	.71	.16*	.31	.03	-.10	-.03	.96	.30**
Heritage culture individualism	-.39	-.08	-.37	-.04	.46	.09	-.01	-.001
R <sup>2</sup>		.04		.01		.02		.16**
STEP 2 / Constant	19.06		49.43		6.90		10.57	
Gender	.17	.04	.86	.10	.39	.10	-.60	-.18*
Age	.002	.004	-.01	-.01	.04	.10	.01	.03
Generational status	.70	.16*	.33	.04	.02	.01	1.01	.32**
Heritage culture individualism	-.37	-.07	-.22	-.02	.40	.08	.02	.01
Family intragroup marginalisation	-.04	-.11	-.003	-.01	.10	.34*	.03	.10
Friend intragroup marginalisation	-.01	-.06	-.12	-.27*	-.01	-.04	-.01	-.08
$\Delta R^2$		.02		.07**		.09**		.04

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p \leq .005$ .

## Discussion

The findings for this study were mixed. The association of greater perceived cultural distance and lower intragroup marginalisation was in the opposite direction of Hypothesis 1. Partial support was found for Hypothesis 2, with security predicting less intragroup marginalisation from family and marginally from friends. Tradition was marginally linked with greater perceptions of intragroup marginalisation from friends. Friend intragroup marginalisation was linked with decreased flourishing, whilst family intragroup marginalisation was linked with increased bicultural identity conflict. Anomalously with the previous findings of Studies 1, 2, and 4, neither indicator was linked with decreased subjective well-being.<sup>10</sup> No indirect effects were tested for values and perceived cultural distance on psychological adjustment through intragroup marginalisation. The discussion focuses on the impact of valuing security and tradition on intragroup marginalisation, and alternative explanations for the inverse relationship between perceived cultural distance and intragroup marginalisation.

### Values and Intragroup Marginalisation

In a pan-cultural study on value hierarchies, security was consistently rated as the fourth most important value (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Valuing security may have its benefits for the smooth functioning of society during times of uncertainty. The role of security in decreasing in-group conflict and violations (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001) may also be reflected in the present finding that individuals who valued security perceived less intragroup marginalisation. Research has indicated that valuing security has been linked with decreased well-being (Sorthaix & Lonnqvist, 2013). Indeed, valuing security may be a reflection of individuals perceiving that it is absent. Individuals may increase their values of security when they perceive instability and upheaval in their surroundings, such as during migration (Lonnqvist, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Verkasalo, 2011, 2013). Valuing security may, in

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that Pearson's correlations indicate a negative association between family intragroup marginalisation and subjective well-being (Table 6.1).

turn, shape bicultural individuals' behaviours and attitudes in ways that they can regain it – for example, by avoiding intragroup marginalisation. Thus, for bicultural individuals who may perceive uncertainty as they move between their mainstream and heritage cultures, valuing security may provide a guideline to avoiding further uncertainty caused by feeling that they are not accepted by their heritage culture.

Conversely, valuing tradition was marginally linked with higher perceptions of intragroup marginalisation from friends, in the opposite direction of Hypothesis 2. One potential explanation may stem from the role tradition values play in behaviour. Because tradition values correlate highly with their related behaviours (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003), individuals who highly value tradition may be more aware of any discrepancies between their values and behaviours, thereby perceiving greater intragroup marginalisation for not conforming to the heritage culture and its traditions. Furthermore, individuals who value tradition may be more aware of when their behaviours do not match, or even conflict, with the expectations of the heritage culture. This may be particularly true if bicultural individuals identify with both their heritage and mainstream identities. They may find it conflicting to adhere to the traditional behaviours of both cultures. Collectively, the present findings provide insight into the countervailing roles that security and tradition – two values with similar motivations – play in perceptions of rejection from other in-group members.

### **Perceived Cultural Distance and Intragroup Marginalisation**

The finding that perceived cultural distance was linked with lower intragroup marginalisation from friends was unexpected. However, recent research has indicated that when migrants perceive greater cultural distance between their heritage and mainstream cultures they may choose to separate from the mainstream culture, focusing instead on maintaining their heritage culture identity (van Osch & Breugelmans, 2011). Thus, it may be that the inverse association between perceived cultural distance and intragroup

marginalisation may be due to individuals choosing to identify with their heritage culture only. If they exert their efforts in maintaining their heritage culture identity, then they are less likely to perceive rejection from other in-group members. For example, they may choose to practice their heritage culture language, or espouse primarily heritage culture values. One limitation of this study is that it did not include measures of heritage and mainstream culture identification, such as the Vancouver Acculturation Index (VIA; Ryder et al., 2000). Further research should seek to measure an individual's heritage and mainstream culture identities when investigating the inverse association between perceived cultural distance and intragroup marginalisation, to ascertain whether individuals are simply choosing to identify with their heritage culture only.

Although the results were unexpected, this may be in part because the hypothesis was formed from the viewpoint of the negative impact of cultural distance on psychological and sociocultural adjustment, in line with previous research (Polek et al., 2010; Ward & Searle, 1991). However, much of this work was framed in terms of experiences of sojourners and their resulting culture shock (Demes & Geeraert, 2013; Furukawa, 1997; Ward & Searle, 1991). Additionally, the detrimental influence of perceived cultural distance on adjustment appears to be temporal, greatly decreasing after three and a half years of residing in the mainstream culture (Kashima & Abu-Rayya, 2014). Bicultural individuals, who might even be second or later generation heritage culture members born in a mainstream culture, are not likely to experience culture shock. Furthermore, they may perceive that it is easier to identify with the mainstream culture. Individuals distinguish between integration as a strategy to make and maintain positive relationships with members of the mainstream culture, and integration as a strategy to adopt the mainstream cultural identity (Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003). Thus, when individuals perceive cultural distance they can still have close and fulfilling relationships with mainstream culture members. Indeed, they can

interact with, and adjust to, the mainstream culture, whilst refraining from identifying with it, thereby avoiding intragroup marginalisation.

### **Limitations**

The limitations of this study were twofold. First, as the study measured *perceived* cultural distance, the association between lower cultural distance and increased intragroup marginalisation may be more indicative of the importance of how individuals conceptualise their heritage and mainstream cultures, as opposed to any objective cultural distance. Although the findings are important, further research should seek to measure objective cultural distance and its potential link with intragroup marginalisation. Indeed, individuals may perceive their cultures as being distant, but in fact they may share values, social axioms, and other important cultural factors which may influence the difficulties individuals have in maintaining their heritage and mainstream culture identities, and thus, perceiving that they are still an accepted heritage culture member. Further research may focus on participants living in the same mainstream culture, and compare its cultural distance to two or three heritage cultures (potentially chosen to represent close, moderate, and very distant cultures) following a thorough review. Second, although only conservation values were investigated, further research should seek to include all of Schwartz's (1994; 2006) value dimensions, and, especially, the counterpart to the conservation dimension: openness to change. Indeed, recent research indicates that there are 19 distinct values, which distinguish personal and societal security values, and include humility and face (Cieciuch, Davidov, Vecchione, Beierlein, & Schwartz, 2014). For example, if individuals value face, they may conform to the prescribed heritage culture identity to avoid losing it. Finally, further research should seek to compare an individual's own endorsements of their values and what they perceive the values of their heritage culture are to further clarify the role of values in perceiving intragroup marginalisation.

**Study 5: Conclusions**

Surprisingly, individuals who perceived their mainstream and heritage cultures to be more similar also perceived greater intragroup marginalisation. It may be that individuals may struggle much more with feelings of loyalty and conflict when their cultures are similar and they perceive that they have to make a choice; with distant cultures, they may choose to identify solely with their heritage culture. Furthermore, the preliminary findings indicate some support for the importance of values when investigating perceptions of rejection. Indeed, the link between valuing security and decreased intragroup marginalisation may also reflect similar mechanisms by which secure attachment (Studies 1-3) and interdependent self-construal (Study 4) also lead to decreased perceptions of rejection. Thus, insecurely attached individuals who chronically struggle with attaining a sense of security in their relationships (Bowlby, 1969) and interdependent individuals who value security (Oishi et al., 1998), may differ in their outcomes of perceiving intragroup marginalisation because of differences in how strongly they pursue and value security.

## **Study 6: Longitudinal Experiences of Intragroup Marginalisation and its Association with Perceived Sociometric Status**

*“Although Melissa was happy about the prospect of being near her family, she feared that by going to community college she would not have the chance to get the academic preparation she would need to get into medical school. When she told her parents about her career goals, they told her that it was important for her to raise a family first and that one college degree was good enough. Her younger sister told Melissa that she had changed ever since she went away to “that fancy school” and started having so many “White friends.” She told Melissa to stop acting like a White girl.” (Castillo, 2009, p. 250)*

Do perceptions of intragroup marginalisation increase over time? The goal of the final study was to explore the change in experiences of intragroup marginalisation. It builds on the qualitative work of Castillo (2009), and, to the best of the author’s knowledge, it is the first study to investigate intragroup marginalisation longitudinally. Furthermore, by focusing solely on university students, it bears the closest resemblance to the original work by Castillo and her colleagues (Cano et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2008, 2007, 2012; Castillo, 2009). Intragroup marginalisation is an important factor to consider in the context of student research because it is linked with decreased academic persistence (Ojeda, Castillo, Rosales Meza, & Pina-Watson, 2013). Cross-sectional studies offer a glimpse into the detrimental outcomes of intragroup marginalisation. However, a longitudinal design allows for deeper insight into the trajectory of intragroup marginalisation and its long-term implications. Furthermore, it may also clarify which time periods (e.g., first or second term in university) are liable to carry an increased risk for such experiences, and when clinical interventions would be most beneficial. Previous studies (Cano et al., 2014; Cano & Castillo, 2010; Castillo et al., 2008) have sampled from both undergraduate and graduate students at all points of their degree. The present study focused solely on first-year students, when the tension between heritage and mainstream/student identities might be particularly overwhelming.



Leaving the family home for the first time is a difficult transition. It may be especially difficult for students who are also negotiating dual identities (Castillo et al., 2008, 2012). In particular, the transition from family life and activities with friends from the heritage culture to a multicultural environment such as university can be fraught with perceptions of no longer meeting the standards of the heritage culture. Furthermore, the development of a student identity can also leave individuals with the perception that they are ‘betraying’ their heritage culture (Castillo et al., 2007; Castillo, 2009), especially when they interact with their family and heritage culture friends. As individuals interact with other students, they may feel that they no longer share the same values as their family and heritage culture friends. It is hypothesised that the amount of time that individuals spend speaking to their family and heritage culture friends is an indicator of the level of intragroup marginalisation that they might perceive. In particular, if group norms are largely acquired and regulated as part of the background of regular social interactions (Koudenburg, Postmes, & Gordijn, 2013), then it must follow that if individuals limit their interactions with other heritage culture in-group members they have less access to the group norms and to confirming their prototypicality. Thus, they may perceive that their heritage culture identity is not sufficient, and report intragroup marginalisation. In turn, this may impact their perceived sociometric status and psychological adjustment.

### **Sociometric Status**

Sociometric status refers to the social position of an individual within their social group (Maassen, Akkermans, & Van Der Linden, 1996). Previous research on sociometric status has used peer reports of like or dislike to generate an individual’s status, for example, belonging to the popular or rejected status groups (Anderson, Kraus, Galinsky, & Keltner, 2012; Maassen, van der Linden, & Akkermans, 1997; Matza, Kupersmidt, & Glenn, 2001; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2013). In the present study, sociometric status was measured by

respondents indicating their social standing by reporting their worth and value through others' eyes (e.g. their heritage culture friends). Thus, the study focused on perceived sociometric status (Anderson et al., 2012). As intragroup marginalisation is also perceived, it is expected that it should play a role in perceived as opposed to objective sociometric status; for example, because individuals perceive that they no longer meet the expectations of their heritage culture, they may feel that their heritage culture friends have less respect for them. Importantly, sociometric status was measured for both heritage and mainstream social groups. In turn, because sociometric status is important for well-being (Anderson et al., 2012), individuals may also experience decreased psychological adjustment (subjective well-being, flourishing, acculturative stress).

### **Hypotheses**

This study investigated the experiences of bicultural students living in Britain. Because it did not restrict the participants' heritage cultures, Study 6 therefore tested the replicability and universality of the intragroup marginalisation construct in a university setting. As individuals move away from family and construct a student identity, they may perceive intragroup marginalisation. In turn, intragroup marginalisation may have implications for their sociometric status with other heritage culture members, and their psychological adjustment. For this purpose, three hypotheses were tested longitudinally.

*Hypothesis 1.* Intragroup marginalisation from family and friends will increase over time.

*Hypothesis 2.* Speaking less with family and friends will correlate with increased family and friend intragroup marginalisation, respectively.

*Hypothesis 3a.* Increases in intragroup marginalisation will be linked with a decreased sociometric status with the heritage culture.

*Hypothesis 3b.* Increases in intragroup marginalisation will correlate with decreased psychological adjustment.

## Method

### Participants

All participants were recruited through Brunel University's undergraduate participant pool. Participants were all enrolled on a BSc psychology degree, and received two credits in total (one credit for completion of the first part, and a second credit upon participating in the second collection). Due to high attrition rates in completing the questionnaire in the second time period (in total 72 participants completed the first questionnaire), two consecutive student cohorts were recruited. Overall, 46 participants provided responses at both time points ( $M_{\text{age}}$ : 19.84,  $SD$ : 3.20; female: 38, male: 8). All participants were living in the UK at the time of the first and second waves of data collection. Participants' heritage cultures were not restricted, in line with the methodology of the previous studies, with the only criteria being that they have a heritage culture that was different to the mainstream UK culture. Participants reported the following heritage cultures: European (30%), South Asian (24%), North African/Middle Eastern (20%), African (13%), Caribbean (7%), East Asian (4%), and South American (2%). Heritage cultures were classified using Hofstede's (2001) value ratings as being either high or low in individualism. 40 participants (87%) reported a heritage culture low in individualism, and 6 (13%) reported a heritage culture high in individualism.

17 (37%) participants were second or later generation bicultural individuals who had been born in the UK but had a different heritage culture that had an impact on them and previous generations of their family. 29 (63%) participants were first-generation migrants, who had either come to the UK specifically to attend the university, or prior to it ( $M_{\text{years residing in host culture}}$ : 5.83,  $SD$ : 5.55). The majority of participants were full-time students only (72%). Participants also reported working part-time (28%).

## Materials and Procedure

Participants signed up via the university's psychology participant pool, and were directed to contact the principal investigator. They were then sent the link to complete the questionnaire online at a survey-hosting website (surveymonkey.com). They were asked to create a 5-digit code at Time 1 which they needed to keep and also email the principal investigator. They entered this code at Time 2, approximately 5 months later, to match up their results. Participants' anonymity was maintained and all identifying information was removed following collation of the results. They first completed demographic questions before being presented with the following materials. All materials were in English and were presented at both Time 1 and Time 2.

**Time Spent Talking to Family.** A one-item measure was created to gauge the amount of time participants interacted with their family. It was included in order to ascertain whether the amount of interaction with family, who were ostensibly also members of their heritage culture, would be linked with family intragroup marginalisation. Participants indicated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Occasionally (Once a month)*, 4 = *At Least Once a Week*, 5 = *Every Day*) how often they spoke to their family.

**Time Spent Talking to Heritage Culture Friends.** An identical one-item measure was also created to investigate the amount of time that participants spent interacting with friends from their heritage culture. Participants used the same 5-point Likert scale as the previous item.

**Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory (IMI;** Castillo et al., 2007). The 11-item family (Time 1:  $\alpha = .76$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .78$ ) and 16-item heritage culture friends (Time 1:  $\alpha = .88$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .87$ ) subscales were included to measure intragroup marginalisation. Items referred to 'heritage' and 'mainstream/host' cultures, in line with the previous studies.

**Sociometric Status** (Anderson et al., 2012). To measure perceived sociometric status, a five-item measure was adapted from Anderson and colleagues. Participants completed it once for their heritage culture group, and once for their mainstream culture social group. For their heritage culture sociometric status, participants were instructed to think of their heritage culture group, particularly family and heritage culture friends (Time 1:  $\alpha = .93$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .93$ ). For their mainstream culture sociometric status, participants were instructed to think of friends or peers who were from the mainstream culture (Time 1:  $\alpha = .93$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .94$ ). Participants indicated the extent of their agreement (e.g., “I have a high level of respect in others’ eyes.”) with each statement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 6 = *Strongly Agree*).

**Riverside Acculturative Stress Inventory** (RASI; Benet-Martinez, 2003). As with Study 1, the RASI was included as a measure of acculturative stress. The five subscales were collapsed into one general acculturative stress score (15 items; Time 1:  $\alpha = .83$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .85$ ). The RASI was included in this study to parallel the research by Castillo and colleagues (2008; 2012) on the intragroup marginalisation experiences of university students. Thus, it contributed to the existing research on intragroup marginalisation and increased acculturative stress by investigating their association over time.

**Satisfaction with Life Scale** (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985). As with previous studies, the five item SWLS was included to measure participants’ evaluations of the general satisfaction with their life (Time 1:  $\alpha = .81$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .84$ ).

**Flourishing Scale** (Diener et al., 2010). As with previous studies, the eight item flourishing scale (Time 1:  $\alpha = .83$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .85$ ) was included as a complement to the SWLS to measure participants’ well-being in five domains (optimism, social relationships, self-efficacy, self-esteem, and purpose in life).

**Bicultural Identity Integration Scale** (BII-S, Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). As with Study 4, the BII-S was included to measure the degree to which participants perceived their identity as being harmonious and close. However, due to the poor reliability of the bicultural identity distance subscale (4 items; Time 1:  $\alpha = .16$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .35$ ), only the bicultural identity conflict (4 items; Time 1:  $\alpha = .84$ ; Time 2:  $\alpha = .82$ ) subscale was included in further analysis.

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and Pearson's correlations are reported in Table 7.1 for both time points.

### Intragroup Marginalisation over Time

To investigate whether intragroup marginalisation increased over time, paired-samples *t*-tests compared the means at Time 1 and Time 2 for intragroup marginalisation and time spent talking to family and heritage culture friends (illustrated in Table 7.2). Participants reported talking less to their heritage culture friends from term one to term two. There were no significant differences between Time 1 and Time 2 for either friend or family intragroup marginalisation.

Table 0.1. Paired-Samples *t*-tests.

Variables (T1-T2)	Df	<i>t</i>
Family intragroup marginalisation	43	1.51
Friend intragroup marginalisation	43	.59
Time spent talking to family	43	.26
Time spent talking to heritage culture friends	43	2.14*

Note: \* $p = .05$ .

### Talking to Heritage Culture Members and Intragroup Marginalisation

Hierarchical regressions investigated whether the changes in intragroup marginalisation over time were predicted by how much participants talked to family and heritage culture friends at Time 1 and Time 2 (Table 7.3). For the regression model

Table 0.2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations for Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Age		.05	.10	-.34*	-.25	-.19	-.24	.04	.02	.04	-.02
2. Talking to family	-.22		.38*	-.06	.13	.12	.29†	.44**	.39*	.29†	.21
3. Talking to heritage Friends	.11	.16		-.12	-.18	.13	.31†	-.08	.21	.09	.29†
4. Family intragroup Marginalisation	-.11	-.11	-.22		.42**	.35*	.39*	.05	.02	-.06	.11
5. Friend intragroup Marginalisation	-.10	-.06	-.13	.69**		.32*	.18	.14	-.05	.24	.27
6. Acculturative Stress	-.19	-.06	.01	.30†	.32*		.59**	-.13	-.13	.12	.20
7. Identity conflict	-.04	-.19	.09	.46**	.36*	.48**		-.09	.03	.09	.13
8. SWB	-.18	.17	-.34*	.14	.09	-.43**	-.36*		.77**	.59**	.37*
9. Flourishing	-.08	.36*	-.02	.05	-.05	-.24	-.31*	.62*		.39*	.29†
10. Mainstream SES	-.12	.22	-.03	.33*	.34*	.06	-.17	.42**	.56**		.59**
11. Heritage SES	-.04	.29*	.27	.10	.13	.11	.05	.15	.63**	.70**	
Mean T1	19.84	4.59	3.55	2.81	2.39	2.30	2.43	3.47	5.55	4.42	4.65
(T2)	(19.84)	(4.57)	(3.20)	(2.59)	(2.31)	(2.25)	(2.60)	(3.53)	(5.59)	(4.80)	(4.82)
SD T1	3.20	.66	1.19	1.09	1.02	.72	1.14	.94	.81	1.13	1.16
(T2)	(3.20)	(.66)	(1.21)	(1.11)	(1.02)	(.71)	(1.14)	(.91)	(.93)	(1.33)	(1.22)

Note: Correlations for Time 1 are below the diagonal, whilst correlations for Time 2 are above the diagonal. Means represent mean scores on their respective Likert scales. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

talking to friends at Time 1 and Time 2 were included as predictors. Furthermore, family and friend intragroup marginalisation, respectively, at Time 1 were included in the first step.

Thus, the dependent variable represented the residualised change in family or friend intragroup marginalisation from Time 1 to Time 2. Results revealed that talking more to family members at Time 1 was linked with increased family intragroup marginalisation at Time 2. However, as indicated in step 2, the changes in talking with family/friends from Time 1 to Time 2 were not linked with changes in intragroup marginalisation from Time 1 to Time 2.

Table 0.3. Predictors of intragroup marginalisation.

Model	Family intragroup marginalisation T2		Friend intragroup marginalisation T2	
	Unstandard.	$\beta$	Unstandard.	$\beta$
STEP 1 / Constant	-13.26		10.23	
Talking to family/friends T1	4.08	.23*	1.56	.12
Family/friend marginalisation T1	.74	.76**	.56	.59**
R <sup>2</sup>		.57**		.34**
STEP 2 / Constant	-13.01		11.73	
Talking to family/friends T1	.4.14	.24	1.98	.16
Family/friend marginalisation T1	.74	.76**	.55	.57**
Talking to family/friends T2	-.11	-.01	-.78	-.06
$\Delta R^2$		.00		.002

Note: \*  $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .005$ .

To investigate the order of causality between talking to friends and intragroup marginalisation, reverse regression models were tested with intragroup marginalisation at Time 1 as the predictor and speaking to family and heritage culture friends at Time 2 as the outcome variables. Intragroup marginalisation and speaking to family/friends at Time 1 were entered in step 1. The respective Time 2 intragroup marginalisation variable was entered at step 2. Speaking to heritage culture friends at Time 1 was linked positively with speaking to heritage culture friends at Time 2,  $\beta = .56$ ,  $p < .001$ . Importantly, friend intragroup marginalisation at Time 1 was linked with speaking less to heritage culture friends at Time 2,



$\beta = -.30, p < .05$ . Conversely, only speaking to family at Time 1 was significantly linked with talking to family at Time 2,  $\beta = .55, p < .001$ . Thus, as a preliminary finding, it appears that talking to family is linked with increased perceptions of rejection. In this study, this relationship was not mutually causal. Furthermore, in opposition to Hypothesis 2, friend intragroup marginalisation predicted whether participants spoke less with their heritage culture friends at Time 2, but this relationship was not significant when tested in reverse.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Adjustment**

To investigate the link between intragroup marginalisation and decreased psychological adjustment, a conflicted bicultural identity, and decreased heritage sociometric status over time, an identical procedure was followed as detailed above. Table 7.4 illustrates the results for the five hierarchical regression models. Friend intragroup marginalisation at Time 2 was linked with increased acculturative stress. Thus, the increase in friend intragroup marginalisation from Time 1 to Time 2 was associated with an increase in acculturative stress from Time 1 to Time 2.

### **Discussion**

The findings of Study 6 did not support many hypotheses. This might have been, in part, because of the size of the participant sample (despite collecting the data in two waves) and the high attrition rate. No significant differences were reported over time for either indicator of intragroup marginalisation. However, individuals did report speaking less to their heritage culture friends over time. Furthermore, individuals who reported speaking more often to family at Time 1 also reported higher family marginalisation at Time 2. This was partially in the opposite direction of Hypothesis 2, that a decrease in speaking to family and friends would be linked with increased intragroup marginalisation. However, talking to family might be an indirect measure of how much participants choose to disclose. In turn, participants might perceive rejection from family because they might disclose information).

Table 0.4. Association of Intragroup Marginalisation with Psychological Outcome Variables.

Model	Acculturative stress		SWB		Flourishing		Bicultural ID conflict		Heritage sociometric status	
	Unstand. $\beta$	$\beta$	Unstand. $\beta$	$B$	Unstand. $\beta$	$\beta$	Unstand. $\beta$	$\beta$	Unstand. $B$	$\beta$
STEP 1 / Constant	16.58		6.17		9.02		7.94		13.15	
Family marginalisation T1	.04	.05	-.02	-.06	.12	.20	-.02	-.04	.04	.09
Friend marginalisation T1	-.16	-.24	.01	.02	-.13	-.28	-.04	-.13	-.001	-.003
DV T1	.61	.61**	.68	.75**	.82	.72**	.45	.45*	.38	.37*
R <sup>2</sup>		.33*		.55**		.57**		.17		.15
STEP 2 / Constant	11.64		6.07		8.93		6.46		11.83	
Family marginalisation T1	-.06	-.07	.002	.004	.12	.19	-.12	-.29	.03	.06
Friend marginalisation T1	-.30	-.45*	-.01	-.03	-.13	-.29	-.05	-.15	-.06	-.17
DV T1	.55	.54**	.67	.74**	.81	.71**	.34	.34	.34	.32†
Family marginalisation T2	.17	.22	-.03	-.08	.01	.01	.17	.40	.02	.05
Friend marginalisation T2	.30	.14*	.03	.09	.01	.02	.03	.11	.12	.31
$\Delta R^2$		.16*		.01		.00		.10		.07

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .005$ , † $p = .07$ ; DV = dependent variable.

which might not be in line with what is expected of them as heritage culture members. For example, they might disclose that they have many mainstream culture friends, or are engaging in mainstream culture activities and hobbies. Indeed, bicultural university students report feeling that their family and heritage culture friends do not accept their decisions to join university clubs or to value academic success over duty to their family (Castillo, 2009).

Thus, individuals may experience the ‘double-edged’ sword of integration (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Brown et al., 2013): by interacting with their family and attempting to maintain their heritage culture identity, whilst also interacting in the new mainstream culture, they may risk perceiving that their family does not deem their heritage culture identity as sufficient. Parallel to the findings that integrated bicultural children reported greater emotional problems over six months, perhaps due to the increased likelihood of their interactions with the mainstream culture whilst maintaining their heritage identity (Brown et al., 2013), individuals may experience intragroup marginalisation because they choose to maintain contact with their family over time as they integrate in a new academic environment.

In turn, they might choose to limit their interactions where possible, which was partially reflected in the present results in the decrease of time spent speaking to heritage culture friends. Further research should seek to clarify the causal pathway of this relationship, although the present findings contribute a preliminary understanding to the potential causal pathways, as the reverse regression model indicated that family intragroup marginalisation at Time 1 did not predict speaking to family at Time 2. These findings may parallel those of Studies 1 and 3 regarding the relatively binding and stable nature of family ties. Thus, although individuals may experience intragroup marginalisation, they may be unable or unwilling to decrease the amount of time they spend with their family. However, speaking to their family may incur a greater possibility of intragroup marginalisation. Conversely, the

present results regarding the importance of whether individuals experience friend intragroup marginalisation to how often they maintain contact with their friends provide further evidence for the voluntary nature of friendship (Hays, 1988). In response to perceiving that their heritage identity is mocked or not accepted by heritage culture friends, individuals may choose to decrease the amount of time they speak with their heritage culture friends over time. Thus, they may be able to avoid the detrimental impacts of intragroup marginalisation.

Nonetheless, the association between friend intragroup marginalisation and increased acculturative stress provided partial support for Hypothesis 3, that an increase in intragroup marginalisation over time would be accompanied by a decrease in psychological adjustment. Thus, individuals who experienced an increase in friend intragroup marginalisation also reported an increase in acculturative stress. This association replicates the findings of Study 1, and provides support for the longstanding impacts of intragroup marginalisation. It also parallels previous findings for family intragroup marginalisation (Castillo et al., 2008; Castillo et al., 2012). Although the present study indicated only marginal support for intragroup marginalisation as an antecedent of psychological adjustment and an integrated bicultural identity, the collective findings of the preceding five studies provide strong evidence for the importance of considering intragroup marginalisation when investigating the experiences of bicultural individuals.

### **Limitations**

This study investigated the association of intragroup marginalisation with psychological adjustment and an integrated bicultural identity longitudinally, and was the first to do so quantitatively. Thus, results were preliminary and interpreted with caution. One limitation was the participant sample; despite harvesting a university participant pool where students are required to participate to accrue a mandatory amount of credits, the participation rate was low (72 participants over the course of two years), and after factoring in the attrition

rate, only 46 participants participated in both collection points. Nonetheless, Study 6 paves the way for future longitudinal research on the trajectory of perceived rejection from heritage culture members and, in turn, its long-term impact on well-being. Further research should aim to investigate a broad demographic (for example, with the aid of Amazon MTurk, which may increase recruitment and decrease attrition). Additionally, there were only two data points approximately five months apart; however, the pattern of intragroup marginalisation may be more complex. Diary studies, which follow participants over a period of time (e.g., every day for two weeks) might provide further insight into experiences of intragroup marginalisation.

### **Study 6: Conclusions**

Further research might benefit from several collection points over a longer period (e.g., conducting a follow-up at the start of respondents' second and third years), as the trajectory of intragroup marginalisation may be more subtle. As students adjust and recommence contact, or alternatively, when they return to their family and heritage culture friends at the end of the academic year, they may once again be exposed to interactions that lead them to perceive greater intragroup marginalisation, especially if they have consciously adopted the mainstream culture/student identity. Indeed, Melissa, the student in Castillo's (2009) case study, experiences intragroup marginalisation from her family only once she returns to visit them. Significantly, the findings also provided further support for the relationship between intragroup marginalisation and increased acculturative stress over time. Individuals who speak less to their family might avoid painful reminders of how they no longer match the prescribed heritage culture identity. Although the option of withdrawing might not be available in regards to their family, individuals may choose to limit the amount of time they speak with their heritage culture friends in response to intragroup marginalisation. Thus, the findings might be indicating a temporary respite from the struggle that bicultural individuals can face as they construct a new student identity.

## **General Discussion**

The findings of the six studies demonstrate the pervasive impact of intragroup marginalisation on psychological adjustment and functioning. They provide empirical support and validate the intragroup marginalisation construct in a global participant sample. Perceiving rejection from family and friends because one does not conform to the expected heritage culture identity is linked with decreased well-being, flourishing, a more conflicted bicultural identity, higher acculturative stress, and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours. Moreover, these studies further clarified the antecedents of intragroup marginalisation. Understanding how attachment orientations, self-construals, values, and perceptions of cultural distance between one's heritage and mainstream cultures are linked with intragroup marginalisation aids in clarifying the painful experiences of perceived rejection. I begin by summarising and linking the findings regarding the predictors of intragroup marginalisation.

### **Predictors of Intragroup Marginalisation**

The holistic approach to examining intragroup marginalisation allowed for insight into several of its predictors. These predictors, in turn, may interact with each other, resulting in complex relationships. Insecure attachment and independent self-construal were linked with increased intragroup marginalisation. Conversely, interdependent self-construal, greater perceived cultural distance, and valuing security were linked with decreased perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. The predictors of intragroup marginalisation, although investigated separately, provide fertile ground for future research that seeks to combine them, or, alternatively, to illuminate which is the strongest predictor of intragroup marginalisation. For example, for those who are insecurely attached and report higher intragroup marginalisation (Studies 1-3), would priming interdependence (Study 4) buffer these perceptions and their detrimental association with psychological adjustment? Indeed, both

those who are insecurely attached and those with an interdependent self-construal are sensitive to rejection (Li & Chan, 2012; Yamaguchi et al., 1995). However, individuals with an interdependent self-construal may be more equipped to deal with intragroup marginalisation by aligning themselves with their heritage culture, perceiving themselves as more similar to other in-group members, and ensuring that they meet the cultural expectations. Furthermore, previous research indicates that the strength of the association between insecure attachment and low expectations and perceptions of social support is decreased in collectivist cultures (Frias, Shaver, & Diaz-Loving, 2013). In this respect, the tendency of individuals in collectivist cultures to embed the self in relationships and thus experience and seek connectedness and harmony with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) may provide a form of respite for insecurely attached individuals – in particular, from their negative and hostile attributions to others (Mikulincer, 1998; Mikulincer et al., 2003) – in contrast to their counterparts living in individualist cultures where self-reliance is encouraged. In this light, priming interdependence in insecurely-attached individuals may ameliorate their perceptions of rejection from others.

Additionally, the findings of Study 5, that valuing security was marginally linked with decreased intragroup marginalisation, may parallel the effects of priming interdependence on intragroup marginalisation. After all, interdependent individuals tend to value prevention-focused strategies in goal pursuit that minimise risks (Lee et al., 2000). Thus, the psychological processes that underlie the tendency of interdependent selves and those who value security to perceive lower intragroup marginalisation may be similar. Prevention-focused strategies may manifest in conforming to the prescribed heritage culture identity to avoid the risks of exclusion and rejection, thus decreasing perceptions intragroup marginalisation. By examining both variables, we can further progress in pinpointing what factors protect individuals from perceiving intragroup marginalisation. Furthermore,

individual differences in valuing security may moderate the link between insecure attachment and increased intragroup marginalisation. For example, insecurely attached individuals who nonetheless value security may perceive lower intragroup marginalisation than those who do not by maintaining their heritage culture identity. In this vein, understanding the predictors of intragroup marginalisation and mapping out their interactions can benefit further research on interpersonal processes in a cultural context.

### **Attachment and Intragroup Marginalisation**

Collectively, the findings from Studies 1-3 contribute to understanding the wide-reaching impact of attachment orientations on chronic tendencies to perceive rejection from others. Insecure attachment, measured with two different scales, was linked with increased intragroup marginalisation from family and friends. The consistent association between insecure attachment and increased intragroup marginalisation across three separate studies further emphasises the enduring shadows that insecure attachment casts on the ways that individuals conceptualise and perceive their relationships. Despite some of the argued survival advantages of insecure attachment, such as an elevated appraisal of threat (Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, Doron, & Shaver, 2010), the consequences for stable and positive evaluations of relationships are further evidenced by the present findings.

Individuals scoring high in anxious attachment react strongly to perceived romantic rejection (Besser & Priel, 2009). Indeed, attachment threat may tax anxious individuals' cognitive resources and result in a cognitive vulnerability when performing other tasks (Stanton & Campbell, 2014). Thus, experiences of rejection may be overwhelming for anxious individuals who are negotiating their heritage and mainstream identities. Furthermore, anxious individuals tend to have negative views of their self (Mikulincer, 1995) and their capabilities (Mikulincer & Florian, 1995), which may in part impact how they perceive others appraise them as a member of the heritage culture. Anxious individuals may



experience greater intragroup marginalisation because they are sensitive to rejection and perceive themselves as poor representatives of the heritage culture. For example, they may feel that they are not proficient in their heritage culture language or that they do not have the same values. This may be tied in with the tendency of anxious individuals to report low self-esteem (Marshall et al., 2013). Individuals with low self-esteem report greater pain following social exclusion (Onoda et al., 2010), which may indicate that they more readily perceive intragroup marginalisation. Indeed, self-esteem was correlated with increased friend and family intragroup marginalisation (Studies 1-3), implying that chronic low self-esteem may suffuse perceptions of whether one is a worthy heritage culture in-group member. Further research can centre on self-esteem and intragroup marginalisation, but it should be noted that the findings of Studies 1-3 indicated that anxious attachment contributed to increased perceptions of intragroup marginalisation above and beyond self-esteem.

The parallel findings for individuals high in avoidance suggest that their seemingly positive self-view is a fragile construction under which lies a sensitivity to rejection (Mikulincer, 1995). Although avoidant individuals claim to be highly self-reliant, they still experience the need to belong (Carvallo & Gabriel, 2006), and appraise negative life events such as divorce as more threatening than do those who are secure (Birnbaum et al., 1997). They also report increased physiological and psychological responses to stress and poorer mental health overall (Stanton & Campbell, 2013). They too may perceive pressure and rejection from those in their closest social circle – their family and friends – on the basis of their heritage culture identity.

### **Self-construal and Intragroup Marginalisation**

Study 4 revealed that an interdependent self-construal decreased perceptions of family intragroup marginalisation, whilst an independent self-construal enhanced perceptions. Thus, by examining self-construal, a cultural lens could be adopted as to why some bicultural

individuals perceive greater rejection from other in-group members. To situate the present findings, 75% of the participants in Study 4 reported a heritage culture typically high in collectivism. The motivation to persist (e.g., in tasks or goals) in individuals from an individualist heritage culture is undermined when they are primed with interdependent (as opposed to independent) actions, indicating that interdependent goal-orientation is not conducive to individuals who have a chronic independent self-construal (Hamedani, Markus, & Fu, 2013). In this vein, it may be that the findings of Study 4 regarding the protective nature of interdependent self-construal against perceptions of intragroup marginalisation hold most strongly for individuals who have been previously exposed to interdependent self-construals in their culture (i.e., those with a collectivist heritage culture). For bicultural individuals whose heritage cultures are individualist, priming interdependence may have little effect in decreasing perceptions of intragroup marginalisation because they are not used to such self-construals, nor are they actively encouraged in their cultures. Future research should seek to replicate the differences in primed self-construal (Study 4) in a sample composed of bicultural individuals from individualist heritage cultures. Thus, self-construal differences in intragroup marginalisation could also be validated at a cultural level (Frias et al., 2013; Hamedani et al., 2014). Additionally, further research can seek to compare individuals from two specific cultures which have contrasting levels of collectivism. However, it should be noted that neither the level of the heritage culture's individualism nor its interaction with priming condition was significant in predicting intragroup marginalisation. Furthermore, although self-construal research has largely focused on cross-cultural differences, in particular, between the East and West (Markus & Kitayama 1991, 2010), within-culture differences in self-construal have also been reported (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; for a review, see Varnum, Grossmann, Kitayama, & Nisbett, 2010). A priming method allowed for the

emulation of cross-cultural differences, whilst taking into account individuals' chronic self-construal tendencies.

Perhaps the most pressing questions which arise from the findings of Study 4 are what are the particular aspects of an interdependent self that protect individuals from intragroup marginalisation, and, of course, its reflection – what are the aspects of an independent self that do not? It should be noted that the priming procedure used in Study 4 focused on one important aspect of self-construal: perceptions of similarity (interdependence) and difference/uniqueness (independence). It may be that by conceptualising their self as different and unique, individuals also perceive their identity as something that could be rejected by other heritage culture members. Additionally, research indicates that contextualism – the belief in the significant role that context must play in understanding a person – is an important facet of an interdependent self-construal (Owe et al., 2012). By the same token, acceptance and even expectation of contradictions, including in the self (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2009), may mean that interdependent individuals can reconcile both their heritage and mainstream culture identities without experiencing dissonance. Thus, they may accept that depending on the context (e.g., at home, with their heritage culture, or in the public, mainstream sphere) their self may shift, without necessarily excluding opposing traits, values, and beliefs. Furthermore, interdependence is linked with greater interpersonal flexibility (Cheng & Golden, 2010); interdependent individuals may find it easier to select which facets of their identity are appropriate in response to the demands of the social context. In this sense, interdependent individuals may perceive acceptance more readily than independent individuals because they accept that they can identify with both the heritage and mainstream cultures, without compromising their authenticity.

Alternatively, it may be that because interdependent individuals are sensitive to rejection (Yamaguchi et al., 1995) and are more likely to conform (Täuber & Sassenberg,

2012), they avoid behaviour that may result in exclusion from the heritage culture in-group. Finally, even the ways that interdependent individuals conceptualise their connectedness with others may differ. Recent research differentiates between perceptions of fitting in, i.e. conformity, and sticking together, i.e. relatedness, in collectivist cultures (Gungor, Karasawa, Boiger, Dincer, & Mesquita, 2014). Pinpointing whether interdependent individuals perceive conformity or relatedness and which of these aspects is linked with intragroup marginalisation would go further in understanding the mechanisms of intragroup marginalisation and how to alleviate such experiences. The findings regarding valuing security (Study 5), which shares some similarity with the values of an interdependent self, may provide some insight into the potential underlying factors that predict intragroup marginalisation. Specifically, security, or maintenance – whether the value or the tendency of interdependent individuals to avoid losses (Lee et al., 2000) – may be an important factor that drives individuals to cultivate their heritage culture identity (and perceive it as being similar to other in-group members), thus circumventing intragroup marginalisation.

### **Values and Intragroup Marginalisation**

The focus of Study 5 was on the conservation dimension of values. Valuing security was linked with decreased intragroup marginalisation. However, as research indicates, what is also important is the perception of others' values (Morris, 2013), and this may be particularly pertinent for intragroup marginalisation. Individuals may experience intragroup marginalisation because they perceive a discrepancy between their own values and others' values, regardless of whether there is any actual between-individual variation. Additionally, because parents often wish to transmit not only their personal values, but also what they perceive is normatively valued in their culture (Tam & Lee, 2010), bicultural individuals who have more knowledge of and experience with a mainstream culture may be more aware when their values do not match the heritage culture values. Thus, it is equally important to

understand how individuals envision the values that their family and friends hold, and indeed, the values that a prototypical heritage culture member holds. Study 5 investigated only the personal endorsement of values. Further research on values and intragroup marginalisation should also take into account what individuals perceive other in-group members value.

Notably, the association between security and decreased intragroup marginalisation may help tease out the findings from Study 4 regarding interdependent self-construal. The fact that conformity, as a value, was non-significant may indicate that it is not an underlying factor which protects interdependent individuals from perceptions of intragroup marginalisation. Instead, as interdependent individuals also value security (Oishi et al., 1998) and avoiding loss in goal pursuit (Lee et al., 2000), they may be motivated to maintain their heritage identity and thus avoid exclusion. Tentatively, it might even be posited that the protective effects of an interdependent self-construal stem from perceiving connectedness with other heritage culture in-group members because of ‘sticking together’ as opposed to ‘fitting in.’ Indeed, security may be a mediating factor between interdependence and decreased intragroup marginalisation. Further research should strive to include interdependent self-construal and conservation values in a comprehensive model.

### **Cultural Distance and Intragroup Marginalisation**

Despite the unexpected finding in Study 5 that there was an inverse relationship between perceived cultural distance and intragroup marginalisation, it still provides some insight into the latter construct. If intragroup marginalisation is conceptualised in a manner distinct from previous psychological outcome variables (e.g., psychological or sociocultural adjustment) which were linked with cultural distance (e.g., Demes & Geeraert, 2013; Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009), then the present findings can be justified. Specifically, intragroup marginalisation can almost be conceptualised as success in integrating (i.e., adopting) a mainstream identity, which might be more readily available to individuals who perceive their

heritage and mainstream cultures to be less distant. To clarify this relationship, further research should seek to incorporate the two types of integration with mainstream culture – adoption and contact (Snauwaert et al., 2003) – as mediating variables in a comprehensive model of cultural distance predicting intragroup marginalisation. Thus, individuals who perceive greater cultural distance may choose to maintain contact with the mainstream culture without adopting it, thereby avoiding intragroup marginalisation. Conversely, individuals who perceive their cultures to be relative close may find it easier to adopt a mainstream identity, but, as a result, may face rejection from heritage culture members for failing to meet their expectations.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Psychological Outcomes**

Several psychological outcomes were investigated in the six studies. With the exception of acculturative stress, the outcome variables had not been previously examined in relation to intragroup marginalisation. By including general indices of psychological functioning, the implications of intragroup marginalisation can be extended outside of the clinical realm. Across these studies, intragroup marginalisation was consistently associated with detrimental outcomes: decreased subjective well-being and flourishing, a conflicted bicultural identity, and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours which are potentially dangerous and imply a certain level of prejudice. One particularly notable aspect of intragroup marginalisation, as demonstrated in Studies 1-5, is its role as a mediator. It consistently mediated the association between its predictors and its detrimental psychological outcomes. Thus, it can aid in unpacking the distal and complex relationships between processes such as self-construal and attachment and outcomes such as subjective well-being and flourishing, providing insight into the pathways that join these variables together. Collectively, the findings paint a stark picture: intragroup marginalisation is a painful experience that is associated with diminished general well-being.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Psychological Adjustment**

What is the recipe for long-term happiness? One crucial ingredient that many individuals cite is closeness in social relationships (Caunt, Franklin, Brodaty, & Brodaty, 2012). “Very happy people” have strong and fulfilling relationships (Diener & Seligman, 2002, p. 81). Perceived rejection from those who are closest to us – our family and friends – can sour our attempts at mastering the recipe of happiness. Indeed, intragroup marginalisation was consistently associated with one or more indicators of poor psychological adjustment (indexed as acculturative stress, flourishing, and subjective well-being) across five studies (1, 2, 4, 5, and 6). Intragroup marginalisation can encroach on the intimacy and perceived support that define fulfilling relationships. The findings indicate that individuals who might be struggling with integrating multiple identities might also face further difficulties from other in-group members in the form of intragroup marginalisation for constructing their identity in ways that are not appropriate, which, in turn, increases stress and impacts their well-being.

Perceiving a match between one’s personality and culture is important for well-being (Fulmer et al., 2010). Individuals who report intragroup marginalisation may experience a mismatch, made stronger by the perception that others are not only aware of it, but also disapprove. Additionally, the relationship between the perceived discrepancy of self and culture may be enhanced in the present day because individuals are more likely to have comprehensive insight into other cultures, especially if they are bi/multicultural. Thus, rather than attempting to conform to the expectations of the culture, individuals can experience dissatisfaction because they are aware of alternate cultures (e.g., their mainstream culture) where they are more likely to fit in. In this vein, intragroup marginalisation may be an unfortunate consequence of an individual’s choice to identify with a culture outside of their heritage culture that is more in line with their personality, values, and beliefs. For example,

bicultural individuals who have been raised in a mainstream culture may find that their personality is more attuned to the mainstream culture; choosing to identify with the mainstream culture, consequently, may result in intragroup marginalisation.

In turn, intragroup marginalisation may become a familiar spice characterising interactions. Daily stressors are stronger predictors of longstanding mood than major stressors (e.g., life events) and contribute to chronic stress (Charles et al., 2013; Eckenrode, 1984). Intragroup marginalisation may appear to be subtle – a gentle scolding about what typical members of the heritage culture should act like, a teasing comment about an accent – but its persistence can wear down individuals (Castillo, 2009), unsettling relationships and detracting from well-being. Although only acculturative stress was measured in the present studies, further research should seek to clarify whether perceptions of intragroup marginalisation bleed out into chronic general stress.

Finally, an additional explanation for the detrimental impact of intragroup marginalisation and poor psychological adjustment may stem from its link to perceptions of power, or lack thereof. Individuals who experience intragroup marginalisation perceive that their heritage culture social identity is rejected (Castillo, 2007), regardless of whether they believe themselves to be a part of the heritage culture (Khanna, 2004). Research indicates that perceptions of power in social roles are linked with greater well-being, mediated by perceptions of authenticity (Kifer, Heller, Perunovic, & Galinsky, 2013). Thus, greater perceptions of power allow individuals to navigate their lives in ways that allows them to retain authenticity to their self. For the marginalised individual this choice might be eliminated, as they perceive that they do not have power in determining even their heritage culture identity. They may struggle because they feel that other heritage culture members do not perceive their identity as being authentic, and thus, experience poor psychological adjustment.



### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Identity**

The collective findings of Studies 1, 4, and 5 on the link between intragroup marginalisation and increased bicultural identity conflict provide further strong evidence of the roles that others play in the organisation of our identities. Bicultural identity conflict is characterised by a perceived disharmony between an individual's two cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). The findings provide further insight into the significance of the expectations and influence of the heritage culture social group on an individual's cultural identity. The results build upon findings that individuals who identify with multiple cultures, and in turn internalise aspects of these cultures as part of their selves, are more integrated in terms of bicultural identity distance and conflict (Ng & Lai, 2010). The association between intragroup marginalisation and increased bicultural conflict remained significant after controlling for an individual's endorsement of their heritage and mainstream cultural identities (Study 4). Further support for the findings can be drawn from the link between cultural conflict and markers of acculturative stress – social rejection and pressure – although the focus of past research has been on discrimination by the mainstream cultural sphere (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). The role of the heritage culture social group is also pertinent to the maintenance of an integrated bicultural identity, particularly the perception of acceptance into the group by family members and heritage culture friends as a valid member. Intragroup marginalisation is an obstacle that bicultural individuals must face when integrating their identities.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation and Pro-Group Behaviour**

The findings of Study 3, that intragroup marginalisation from friends is linked with increased endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours, has strong implications for further research on disruptive and dangerous attitudes and behaviour. Additionally, it is particularly relevant when considering the growth of Isis: an increasing number of young, Western-born

individuals with inconspicuous backgrounds are choosing to join, espousing similar attitudes as the ones measured in Study 3 towards the mainstream cultures in which they grew up.

Further research should seek to validate whether individuals who perceive intragroup marginalisation endorse extreme pro-group behaviour because it serves to buffer their own identification with their heritage culture and increases their psychological adjustment. For example, if endorsing pro-group behaviour functions similarly to adopting radical views in response to uncertainty (Hogg et al., 2010), then one can surmise that marginalised individuals who endorse pro-group behaviours experience increased heritage culture identification or subjective well-being. Furthermore, the findings regarding the pathway between insecure attachment, intragroup marginalisation, and increased endorsement of committing to, fighting, and even dying for the heritage culture, pave the way for further research on the links between personality and extreme pro-group behaviours.

One antecedent of extreme pro-group behaviour is identity fusion—the perception that one’s personal identity is fused with one’s social identity, thus allowing for a feeling of ‘oneness’ with the in-group (Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales, & Huici, 2009). Those who perceive their identity as being fused with their group endorse extreme pro-group actions following generalised rejection by other in-group members (Gómez, Morales, Hart, Vázquez, & Swann, 2011). Furthermore, fused individuals are more likely to endorse sacrificing themselves to save other in-group members (Swann, Gómez, Dovidio, Hart, & Jetten, 2010). It must be noted that identity fusion was initially included in Study 3, but was not included in SEM analysis as it predicted neither intragroup marginalisation nor extreme pro-group behaviours; the hierarchical regression results remained significant after controlling for identity fusion. Furthermore, the present findings also extend our understanding of the pathways between rejection and increased endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviour by specifying the reasons for rejection: it is argued that because intragroup marginalisation

centres on rejection of one's identity for not conforming to the expectations of the heritage culture, it is viscerally personal, and, ultimately, threatening to one's very self-concept.

### **Implications**

The present research addresses the neglected consequences of intragroup marginalisation, when individuals no longer conform to the prescribed expectations of their heritage culture. Implications are discussed for both the individual and group level. Overall, the studies highlight the dual-edged sword of integration (Baysu et al., 2011; Brown et al., 2013). For individuals, the findings further contribute to our understanding of how identity is negotiated in cultural social contexts, and, specifically, the tension that may be experienced when co-constructing one's heritage culture identity. They further attest to the dynamic processes of cultural identity through including the heritage culture. Individuals may seek to have a heritage culture identity, but may find themselves marginalised by other in-group members. They also indicate the dire consequences in the form of decreased psychological adjustment and an increased endorsement for extreme pro-group behaviours. In regards to the first outcome, they hint to the obstacles of encouraging 'blind' integration. The hidden edges of such policies and interventions can be sharp. Indeed, children who value integrationist attitudes may disengage from school when they perceive high threat (Baysu et al., 2011), more so than assimilated or separated children, and may report increased emotional problems (Brown et al., 2013). Thus, although integration and biculturalism are generally the most optimal identity strategies, exemplified in the tendency of the same integrated children to be the most successful in a school environment when there is low perceived threat (Baysu et al., 2011), it is imperative to proceed with caution and to pay heed to the difficulties individuals may experience as they construct their bicultural identity. Specifically, attention should be given to the issues arising from a sense of 'betraying' the heritage culture by no longer conforming to its expectations. Future acculturation research should include the expectations

of the heritage culture towards its in-group members, and how individuals conceptualise their heritage identity in response to *other* heritage culture members. Additionally, by informing policies of the importance of encouraging an understanding within societies that cultural identity is not a zero-sum process (and especially implemented within a heritage culture context), intragroup marginalisation and its consequences can be addressed. This is important both for the individuals who may perceive intragroup marginalisation (the focus of the present research), and for the heritage culture group who may exert intragroup marginalisation in an effort to preserve its identity and remain distinctive.

The forms of intragroup marginalisation studied herein are doubly painful because they reside at the juncture of interpersonal and group processes. Individuals experience rejection both from close others (family and friends) and, simultaneously, from the in-group as deviant group members. Thus, the implications can extend into relational domains. For example, the present findings can further inform clinical and counselling practices (e.g., Castillo, 2009) through highlighting the need to address conflicts that may be rooted in perceptions of acceptable heritage culture identities in familial and relational counselling for bicultural individuals who report low psychological adjustment. Future interventions (such as enhancing felt security or embeddedness with the heritage culture group) may help alleviate the pain of intragroup marginalisation.

In regards to the link between intragroup marginalisation and pro-group behaviours, the implications are tentatively drawn due to the preliminary nature of the findings. Taken together with the tendency of marginalised individuals to report stronger desires to seek social connections within in-groups (Okimoto & Wrzesniewski, 2012) they may provide an initial sketch of how individuals may come to endorse extreme pro-group behaviours. For example, in their quest for social connections, individuals who feel distanced from the heritage culture of their parents (Malik, 2011), and who experience rejection from their

heritage culture friends, may turn to the internet in finding out about their heritage culture, which can have serious consequences; indeed much of the recruitment for Isis is online (Halliday, 2014). Individuals perceiving a rejection of their heritage identity, and in seeking to self-verify, may end up constructing a more radical heritage identity. In our future attempts to understand why individuals may choose to endorse extreme pro-group behaviours, such as by joining Isis, it is important to pay attention to whether they perceive intragroup marginalisation. Furthermore, in the shaping of policies, the importance of supporting acceptance of heritage culture identities should not be ignored. The findings may contribute to our initial understanding of ‘home-grown’ terrorism, but they also raise further questions. Are individuals who endorse extreme pro-group behaviours seeking out acceptance to the same heritage culture they were raised in? Or, in an effort to self-verify, is the resulting heritage cultural identity changed into a more extreme manifestation? Importantly, are such attempts at self-verification successful, and do they lead to increased psychological adjustment? Insight into these questions would provide further insight as to who might be vulnerable, why they may choose to engage in these behaviours, and what policies and interventions could be implemented to provide alternate pathways to an accepted heritage culture identity and well-being.

In terms of the implications on a group level, understanding intragroup marginalisation is crucial to overcoming the obstacles leading to integration and biculturalism. In order to be successful in this endeavour, social policies must also target heritage culture communities. Intergroup research indicates that for minority groups only dual identification strategies decrease the level of intergroup bias (González & Brown, 2006). Intragroup marginalisation can almost be conceptualised as a form of intergroup bias: individuals whose cultural identity is too similar to the mainstream culture are rejected, and the fissure between ‘us’ as the heritage culture and ‘them’ as the mainstream culture is further

deepened. Thus, encouraging dual identification, or even a tri-identification which includes a superordinate 'global citizen' category, may aid in lessening intragroup marginalisation without increasing the perceived threat for minority groups. Although the mainstream culture was not directly investigated, the findings imply that there exists a certain amount of perceived threat which results in a need for homogeneity within the in-group (Simon & Brown, 1987), which manifests as intragroup marginalisation for members who do not conform. Thus, although much has been achieved in decreasing the tension between majority and minority cultures (as evidenced by the rise in multiculturalist policies and cosmopolitan identities), there is yet more work to be done in eliminating the threats between differing cultural groups that reside within nations. The implications of this research parallel other findings which call for social policies which target the mainstream culture in increasing its acceptance of the need for heritage culture maintenance (Zagefka et al., 2014). It also emphasises the need to target the expectations of the heritage culture, and, in particular, in balancing the focus on maintaining the heritage culture identity and increasing acceptance of the need to adopt or at least increase contact with the mainstream culture, mirroring the recommendations of Zagefka and colleagues (2014). Policies which encourage dual identification may, ultimately, aid in decreasing intragroup marginalisation.

Notably, the findings provide further evidence for the detrimental consequences of encouraging assimilationist policies. Assimilationist policies may result in bicultural individuals perceiving that they no longer meet the expectations of their heritage culture. In the current cultural milieu, Western governments are progressively pursuing 'integrationist' policies which have an assimilationist undercurrent, and decreasing their support for multiculturalism (Malik, 2011); however, they do so at their own peril, by isolating the bicultural individuals who increasingly make up our societies. Acknowledging experiences of intragroup marginalisation and incorporating them when formulating policies can aid us in

our attempts to decrease tension between heritage and mainstream cultural groups and encourage psychological well-being for individuals who navigate multiple cultures.

### **Limitations and Further Directions**

As the nature of the six studies differed, only the collective limitations are summarised herein. First, hierarchical regression analyses indicated that heritage culture, effect coded as high or low in individualism (Studies 1, 3, 4, and 5) did not predict intragroup marginalisation or psychological functioning, providing preliminary support for the cross-cultural validity of the model. However, it is not possible to capture the finer nuances of intragroup marginalisation in such a broad sample without taking into account cultural distance and historical context. Future research could focus on homogenous cultural samples that examine both heritage and mainstream cultures to delineate the exact tensions that individuals face in managing their cultural social identities (e.g., British Asians only). Nonetheless, the present universalist approach provides initial evidence into the intragroup marginalisation construct as a human experience regardless of one's heritage and mainstream cultures. This line of further research could provide insight into the specific tensions that arise from the historical, socio-political, and geographical contexts within which the cultures are embedded.

Furthermore, with the exception of Study 6, the studies did not measure the amount of contact that participants had with their family and heritage culture friends, and how this may influence intragroup marginalisation. Future research could address this limitation by asking participants to report whether they live with their extended family and the number of heritage and mainstream culture friends that they interact with on a regular basis. Whilst Study 6 measured the amount of estimated hours that participants spoke to their family and friends, including the number of influential members of one's heritage culture would provide additional insight. Further studies should also take into account individuals' fluency in

English, or translate the questionnaires into their native language. However, as the data were collected from Brunel University, which is based in London, and online websites that were oriented to English-speaking audiences, it was assumed that participants had at least medium to high proficiency in English.

Generational status in terms of first or later generation migrants was not a significant predictor of intragroup marginalisation in the hierarchical regression models (Studies 1, 3, 4, and 5). Examining the influence of specific generational statuses, however, could improve our understanding of intragroup marginalisation experiences. Relatedly, the long-term responses of individuals who report intragroup marginalisation can drive future research. These individuals may not necessarily adopt a marginalised acculturation orientation; they may choose assimilation (self-identifying with the mainstream culture only), or they may still identify with their heritage culture (thus possibly choosing to be integrated or separated), despite the perceived rejection from family and friends.

Finally, all of the studies centred on *perceptions* of intragroup marginalisation. Whilst this is, arguably, the most significant aspect of the intragroup marginalisation construct, future research should seek to collect data from those who we perceive are rejecting us. Thus, we might understand whether there are discrepancies between perceptions and actual occurrences of intragroup marginalisation. It may further contextualise the findings of the six studies – for example, do insecurely-attached individuals simply *perceive* more intragroup marginalisation? Or do their withdrawn or conflict-seeking tendencies (Li & Chan, 2012) predispose them to *actual* intragroup marginalisation? Although the present studies indicate that perceiving intragroup marginalisation is sufficient to report poor psychological adjustment, are the detrimental effects cumulative if individuals are also actually experiencing intragroup marginalisation? In this vein, how do perceptions of intragroup marginalisation influence the concord (Lee et al., 2012) – defined as harmony and mutuality



– of family and friend relationships? By simultaneously investigating the targets of intragroup marginalisation and their friends and family (and specific dyads such as mother-daughter), we may understand how such experiences impact relationships and their perceived functioning. This may aid in shaping targeted clinical interventions, such as family counselling, when individuals perceive intragroup marginalisation from those closest to them.

One final line of research may be to investigate the self-reports of why individuals choose to marginalise those who do not conform to the prescribed heritage culture identity, which may aid in developing materials and social policies which discourage such attitudes and behaviour. For example, when an individual teases their friend for speaking their shared heritage culture language with an accent, or a parent criticises their child for adopting values which are not part of their heritage culture, what are their self-ascribed justifications? Are they aware of the perceived threat such non-conforming individuals may pose for the heritage culture social identity? Or is the problem more insidious – and despite the actual acceptance that friends and family may have, if one perceives rejection from their heritage culture, must one also reap its detrimental outcomes, regardless of what others may try to assure them of?

All told, intragroup marginalisation is an experience that is detrimental to psychological adjustment, endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviours, and an integrated bicultural identity. If anything, the six studies attest to the cross-cultural resonance of perceptions of rejection from one's heritage culture. Despite the limitations, the collective findings can act as a springboard for a broad range of future studies investigating the antecedents and outcomes of intragroup marginalisation.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Collectively, these six studies provide support for the importance of other heritage culture members when constructing one's own cultural social identity. Prior acculturation research has focused on an individual's choice of their identity, or the expectations and

requirements of the mainstream culture; however, the present results indicate that we perceive that those closest to us – our family and heritage culture friends – play a crucial role in the identities we feel are accessible to us. It is not enough to *believe* one is from a heritage culture – we have to perceive that others do too. As the cultural identities that we construct shift in response to the increased meeting and fusion of cultures, it is important that the shared perceptions of what constitutes an acceptable cultural identity also changes accordingly. That an integrated identity is ideal for both individual and society is firmly buttressed by decades of research (Sam & Berry, 2010); whether individuals perceive that an integrated identity will compromise their worth as a heritage culture member is an important consideration. The present research examined this neglected theme through several perspectives, thus paving the way for further research on intragroup marginalisation in an effort to understand and alleviate this painful experience. Certain factors may predispose individuals to perceiving greater rejection – insecure attachment orientations, an independent self-construal, low endorsement of security values – but, without fail, intragroup marginalisation is linked with decreased psychological functioning. Clinical interventions and social policies that address perceptions of intragroup marginalisation will benefit the mental health of individuals and encourage cohesion in an increasingly global society where cultures and identities can fuse without repercussions. Research can further explore intragroup marginalisation to provide an understanding of the tools that individuals can be equipped with to navigate the cultural junctions of the present day.

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## Appendix

### Scales for Predictor Variables

#### Berkeley Personality Inventory (BPI)

For each of the following items honestly indicate whether you agree or disagree that each statement applies to your personality. Use the following scale.

- |                   |   |         |   |                |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|----------------|
| 1                 | 2 | 3       | 4 | 5              |
| Strongly Disagree |   | Neither |   | Strongly Agree |
1. I am outgoing, sociable
  2. I tend to find fault with others
  3. I am a reliable worker
  4. I remain calm in intense situations
  5. I value artistic, aesthetic experiences
  6. I am reserved
  7. I am considerate and kind to almost everyone
  8. I can be somewhat careless
  9. I am relaxed, handle stress well
  10. I prefer work that is routine and simple
  11. I am full of energy
  12. I can be cold and aloof
  13. I do things efficiently
  14. I get nervous easily
  15. I have an active imagination
  16. I am sometimes shy, inhibited
  17. I like to cooperate with others
  18. I tend to be disorganized
  19. I am emotionally stable, not easily upset
  20. I have few artistic interests
  21. I am talkative
  22. I am sometimes rude to others
  23. I do a thorough job

24. I am depressed, blue
25. I am sophisticated in art, music, or literature
26. I tend to be quiet
27. I am generally trusting
28. I am lazy at times
29. I worry a lot
30. I am ingenious, a deep thinker
31. I generate a lot of enthusiasm
32. I have a forgiving nature
33. I am easily distracted
34. I can be tense
35. I am inventive

### **Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory**

Listed below are a number of statements about how people feel about themselves. Please read each statement and decide whether you agree or disagree that the statement describes you, and to what extent. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item:

- |          |   |   |          |
|----------|---|---|----------|
| 1        | 2 | 3 | 4        |
| Strongly |   |   | Strongly |
| Disagree |   |   | Agree    |

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. I certainly feel useless at times
10. At times I think I am no good at all.

### **Vancouver Acculturation Index (VIA)**

Please place a number (1-9) in the space provided before each statement to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement.

Many of these questions will refer to your *heritage culture*, meaning the culture that has influenced you most. It may be the culture of your birth, the culture in which you have been raised, or another culture that forms part of your background. If you do not feel that you have been influenced by any other culture, please try to identify a culture that may have had an impact on previous generations of your family. Many of these questions will also refer to *host culture*, meaning the characteristic mainstream culture that you reside in currently (that is not your heritage culture).

Please write your *heritage culture* in the space provided:

Please write your *host culture* in the space provided:

Use the following scale to help guide your answers:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strongly								Strongly
Disagree								Agree

1. I often participate in my *heritage cultural* traditions.
2. I often participate in mainstream cultural traditions of my *host culture*.
3. I would be willing to marry a person from my *heritage culture*.
4. I would be willing to marry person from my *host culture*.
5. I enjoy social activities with people from the same *heritage culture* as myself.
6. I enjoy social activities with typical people from my *host culture*.
7. I am comfortable working with people of the same *heritage culture* as myself.
8. I am comfortable working with typical people from my *host culture*.
9. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., movies, music) from my *heritage culture*.
10. I enjoy entertainment from my *host culture* (e.g., movies, music).
11. I often behave in ways that are typical of my *heritage culture*.
12. I often behave in ways that are typical of my *host culture*.
13. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my *heritage culture*.
14. It is important for me to maintain or develop the cultural practices of my *host culture*.
15. I believe in the values of my *heritage culture*.
16. I believe in mainstream values of my *host culture*.
17. I enjoy the jokes and humour of my *heritage culture*.
18. I enjoy typical jokes and humour of my *host culture*.
19. I am interested in having friends from my *heritage culture*.
20. I am interested in having friends from my *host culture*.

### Experiences in Close Relationship – Short Scale (ECR – S)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below. *Be as honest and accurate as possible.* Please note that the questions below refer to your romantic partners in general. Be sure not to overlook any statements as you work through the questionnaire. Respond to the statements in the order they appear. Use the following scale and please indicate your response by placing a number (1-5) in the space provided before each statement:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly				Strongly
disagree				agree

1. It helps to turn to my romantic partners in times of need.
2. I need a lot of reassurance that I am loved by my romantic partners.
3. I want to get close to my partners, but I keep pulling back.
4. I find that my partners don't want to get as close as I would like.
5. I turn to my romantic partners for many things, including comfort and reassurance
6. My desire to be very close sometimes scares people away.
7. I try to avoid getting too close to my romantic partners.
8. I do not often worry about being abandoned.
9. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my romantic partners.
10. I get frustrated if romantic partners are not available when I need them.
11. I am nervous when partners get too close to me.

12. I worry that romantic partners won't care about me as much as I care about them.

### **Intragroup Marginalisation Inventory (IMI)**

Please indicate the extent to which each of the statements below occurs in your day-to-day life. *Be as honest and accurate as possible.*

Use the following scale to help guide your answers:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never/ Does not apply						Extremely Often

1. My family has a hard time accepting my new values.
2. My family wants me to act the way I used to act.
3. My family has a hard time understanding why I do not take part in some of my heritage culture/ethnic group's cultural practices.
4. My family has the same hopes and dreams about my future as me.
5. My family is accepting of my work/career goals.
6. My success in work/school has made my family closer to me
7. Family members laugh at me when I try to speak my heritage culture/ethnic group's language.
8. Family members tell me I that I 'act like a member of the mainstream/host culture.'
9. Family members tell me that I have too many friends outside of my heritage culture/ethnic group.
10. Family members criticize me because I don't speak my heritage culture/ethnic group's language well.
11. Family members tease me because I don't speak my heritage culture/ethnic group's language.
12. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group have a hard time accepting my new values.
13. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group want me to act the way I used to act.
14. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group have a hard time understanding the pressures of my work/school.
15. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group have the same hopes and dreams as me.
16. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group are accepting of my work/career goals.
17. My success in work/school has made friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group closer to me.
18. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group tease me because I don't know how to speak my heritage culture/ethnic group's language.
19. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group tell me that I put work/school ahead of family.
20. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group tell me that I am a 'sell-out.'
21. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group tell me that I have too many friends from the host culture.
22. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group have a hard time accepting why I don't act the way I used to.
23. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group laugh at me when I try to speak my heritage culture/ethnic group's language.
24. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group tell me that I am not really a member of my heritage culture/ethnic group because I don't act like my heritage culture/ethnic group.

25. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group tell me that I am not really a member of my heritage culture/ethnic group because I don't look like my heritage culture/ethnic group.
26. Friends of my heritage culture/ethnic group criticize me because I don't speak my heritage culture/ethnic group's language well.

### Scales for Outcome Variables

#### Bicultural Integrated Identity Scale (BII-S)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below. *Be as honest and accurate as possible.* Many of these questions will refer to your *heritage culture*, meaning the culture that has influenced you most. It may be the culture of your birth, the culture in which you have been raised, or another culture that forms part of your background. If there are several such cultures, please pick the one that has influenced you the *most*. If you do not feel that you have been influenced by any other culture, please try to identify a culture that may have had an impact on previous generations of your family. Many of these questions will also refer to *host culture*, meaning the characteristic mainstream culture that you reside in currently (that is not your heritage culture).

Use the following scale to help guide your answers:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly				Strongly
Disagree				Agree

1. I am simply a migrant who lives in a host culture.
2. I keep my heritage and host cultures separate.
3. I feel like I am from both cultures.
4. I feel part of a combined culture.
5. I am conflicted between the host culture and my heritage culture's ways of doing things.
6. I feel like someone moving between two cultures.
7. I feel caught between my heritage and host cultures.
8. I don't feel trapped between my heritage and host cultures.

#### Flourishing Scale

Below are eight statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by indicating that response for each statement:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neither/			Strongly
Disagree			Mixed			Agree

1. I lead a purposeful and meaningful life.
2. My social relationships are supportive and rewarding.
3. I am engaged and interested in my daily activities.
4. I actively contribute to the happiness and well-being of others.
5. I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me.
6. I am a good person and live a good life.
7. I am optimistic about my future.
8. People respect me.

**Riverside Acculturative Stress Inventory (RASI)**

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below. *Be as honest and accurate as possible.*

Use the following scale to help guide your answers:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly				Strongly
Disagree				Agree

1. It's hard for me to perform well at work because of my host culture skills.
2. I often feel misunderstood or limited in daily situations because of my host culture skills.
3. It bothers me that I have an accent.
4. I feel discriminated against by mainstream (host) nationals because of my cultural/ethnic background.
5. I have been treated rudely or unfairly because of my cultural/ethnic background.
6. I feel that people very often interpret my behaviour based on their stereotypes of what people of my cultural/ethnic background are like.
7. I have had disagreements with people of my own cultural/ethnic group (e.g., friends or family) for liking host culture ways of doing things.
8. I feel that my particular cultural/ethnic practices have caused conflict in my relationships.
9. I have had disagreements with members of the host culture for having or preferring the costumes of my own ethnic/cultural group.
10. I feel that there are not enough people of my own ethnic/cultural group in my living environment.
11. I feel that the environment where I live is not multicultural enough; it doesn't have enough cultural richness.
12. When I am in a place or room where I am the only person of my ethnic/cultural group, I often feel different or isolated.
13. Because of my particular ethnic/cultural status, I have to work harder than most host culture members.
14. I feel the pressure that what "I" do is representative of my ethnic/cultural group's abilities.
15. In looking for a job, I sometimes feel that my cultural/ethnic status is a limitation.

**Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS)**

Please indicate the extent of your agreement with the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly				Strongly
Disagree				Agree

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

**Study 1**

**Relationship Scales Questionnaire (RSQ)**

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below. *Be as honest and accurate as possible.* Please note that the questions below refer to your romantic partners in general. Be sure not to overlook any statements as you work through the questionnaire. Respond to the statements in the order they appear. Use the following scale and please indicate your response by placing a number (1-5) in the space provided before each statement:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

1. I find it difficult to depend on other people.
2. It is very important to me to feel independent.
3. I find it easy to get emotionally close to others.
4. I want to merge completely with another person.
5. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.
6. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships.
7. I am not sure that I can always depend on others to be there when I need them.
8. I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others.
9. I worry about being alone.
10. I am comfortable depending on other people.
11. I often worry that romantic partners don't really love me.
12. I find it difficult to trust others completely.
13. I worry about others getting too close to me.
14. I want emotionally close relationships.
15. I am comfortable having other people depend on me.
16. I worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.
17. People are never there when you need them.
18. My desire to merge completely sometimes scares people away.
19. It is very important to me to feel self-sufficient.
20. I am nervous when anyone gets too close to me.
21. I often worry that romantic partners won't want to stay with me.
22. I prefer not to have other people depend on me.
23. I worry about being abandoned.
24. I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others.
25. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.
26. I prefer not to depend on others.
27. I know that others will be there when I need them.
28. I worry about having others not accept me.
29. Romantic partners often want me to be closer than I feel comfortable being.
30. I find it relatively easy to get close to others.

**Study 2****Priming Task: Instructions**



1. **Secure prime:** Please think about a relationship you have had in which you have found that it was relatively easy to get close to the other person and you felt comfortable depending on the other person. In this relationship you didn't often worry about being abandoned by the other person and you didn't worry about the other person getting too close to you.
2. **Avoidant prime:** Please think about a relationship you have had in which you have found that you were somewhat uncomfortable being too close to the other person. In this relationship you found it was difficult to trust the other person completely and it was difficult to allow yourself to depend on the other person. In this relationship you felt yourself getting nervous when the other person tried to get too close to you and you felt that the other person wanted to be more intimate than you felt comfortable being.
3. **Anxious prime:** Please think about a relationship you have had in which you have felt like the other person was reluctant to get as close as you would have liked. In this relationship you worried that the other person didn't really like you, or love you, and you worried that they wouldn't want to stay with you. In this relationship you wanted to get very close to the other person but you worried that this would scare the other person away.

**Priming Task:**

Can you think of someone with whom you have had this type of relationship? Yes/No

Please enter the initials of a person with whom you have had this kind of relationship. The nominated relationship should be important and meaningful to you. \_\_\_\_\_

Please indicate what type of relationship you had with this person. (Ex-romantic partner, current romantic partner, friend, acquaintance, mother, father, brother, sister, other.)

Please answer the following questions about your relationship with this person. (1 = Not at all, 7 = A great deal)

- a). How satisfying is (was) your relationship with this person?
- b). How important is (was) this relationship to you?
- c). How secure do (did) you feel in this relationship?

Now, take a moment and try to get a visual image in your mind of this person. What does this person look like? What is it like being with this person? You may want to remember a time you were actually with this person. What would he or she say to you? What would you say in return? How do you feel when you are with this person? How would you feel if they were here with you now?

Please take a moment to write down your thoughts and feelings about this person and how you feel/felt when with this person.

**Manipulation Check**

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statement.

Use the following scale to help guide your answers:

1            2            3            4            5

Strongly  
Disagree

Strongly  
Agree

1. I feel very secure right now.

### Study 3

#### Extreme Pro-Group Behaviours

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below. *Be as honest and accurate as possible.*

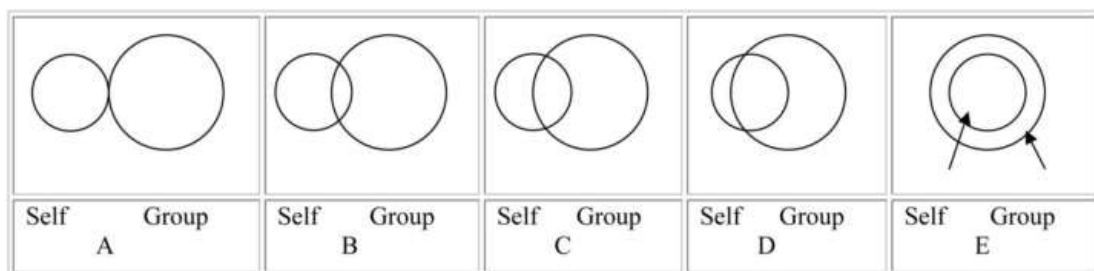
Use the following scale to help guide your answers:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Totally						Totally
Disagree						Agree

1. I would fight someone physically threatening another member of my heritage culture.
2. I would fight someone insulting or making fun of my heritage country as a whole.
3. I would help others get revenge on someone who insulted my heritage country.
4. Hurting other people is acceptable if it means protecting the heritage culture group.
5. I'd do anything to protect the heritage culture group.
6. I would sacrifice my life if it saved another heritage culture group member's life.
7. I would sacrifice my life if it gave the heritage culture group status or monetary reward.
8. I would be willing to attend a protest if my heritage culture group were threatened.
9. I would be willing to donate money to organisations promoting interests of my heritage culture group if need be.
10. The needs of my heritage culture group come before my own.

#### Identity Fusion

In the next section you will see five images. Please select the option that you perceive to be the best visual representation of your relationship to your heritage culture group.



### Study 4

#### Self-Construal Scale (SCS)

We are interested in assessing how individuals interact with others. Using the scale below, indicate whether each statement is true of you by writing the appropriate number in the blank beside each item. Use the following scale to guide you:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Not true  
at all

Very true

1. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact.
2. I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood.
3. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.
4. Speaking up during class is not a problem for me.
5. I value being in good health above everything.
6. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.
7. I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor.
8. Having a lively imagination is important to me.
9. I respect people who are modest about themselves.
10. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in.
11. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.
12. I am the same person at home that I am at school.
13. I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.
14. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.
15. I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education/ career plans.

### Priming Task

1. "Please spend the next three minutes writing about what you have in common with your family and friends. What do they expect you to do?" (Interdependent self-construal prime)
2. "Please spend the next three minutes writing about what makes you different from your family and friends. What do you expect yourself to do?" (Independent self-construal prime)
3. "Please spend the next three minutes writing in detail your route from your home to university/place of employment." (Control condition)

### Manipulation Check

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below. *Be as honest and accurate as possible.* Do not skip any statements. Respond to the statements in the order they appear. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

1. It is important for me to maintain harmony with my group.
2. It is important to me that I do my job better than others.

### Study 5

#### Perceived Cultural Distance Scale

Estimate on a seven-point scale how similar or different your host culture and your home culture are on the following characteristics.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Very different	Different	Rather different	Somewhat different, somewhat similar	Rather similar	Similar	Very similar
1. Climate						
2. Religion						
3. Relation to family						
4. Social contacts						
5. Celebration						
6. Food						
7. Way to spend free time						
8. Clothes						
9. Public manners						
10. Education						
11. Amount of criminality						
12. Mentality						
13. Freedom						
14. Way people talk to each other						
15. Discrimination						
16. Health services						
17. Male-female differences						
18. Politics						
19. Language						
20. Work relations						
21. Following the daily news						
22. Music						

### Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) – Conservation Values

Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you. Using the 1–6 scale below, indicate to what extent you think the person in the description is like you:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me

1. It is important to her to live in secure surroundings. She avoids anything that might endanger her safety.
2. It is very important to her that her country be safe from threats from within and without. She is concerned that social order be protected.
3. It is important to her that things be organized and clean. She doesn't want things to be a mess.
4. She tries hard to avoid getting sick. Staying healthy is very important to her.
5. Having a stable government is important to her. She is concerned that the social order be protected.
6. She believes that people should do what they're told. She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.
7. It is important to her always to behave properly. She wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
8. It is important to her to be obedient. She believes she should always show respect to her parents and to older people.

9. It is important to her to be polite to other people all the time. She tries never to disturb or irritate others.
10. She thinks it's important not to ask for more than what you have. She believes that people should be satisfied with what they have.
11. Religious belief is important to her. She tries hard to do what her religion requires.
12. She believes it is best to do things in traditional ways. It is important to her to follow the customs she has learned.
13. It is important to her to be humble and modest. She tries not to draw attention to herself.

## Study 6

### Speaking to Family and Friends

On a scale of 1-5, how often do you talk to your family?

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	At least once	Everyday
		(At least once a month)	a week	

On a scale of 1-5, how often do you socialise with friends from your heritage culture?

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	At least once	Everyday
		(At least once a month)	a week	

On a scale of 1-5, how often do you socialise with friends from your mainstream, culture? (E.g. other students)?

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	At least once	Everyday
		(At least once a month)	a week	

### Sociometric Status Scale

Version 1: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below.

*Be as honest and accurate as possible.* These questions will refer to your *heritage culture* social group (primarily your family, and also some circles of friends). Your *heritage culture* is the culture that has influenced you and previous generations of your family; this might be the culture that you were born in, or raised in, or that had a significant impact on previous generations of your family. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by indicating that response for each statement:

Version 2: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below.

*Be as honest and accurate as possible.* These questions will refer to your *mainstream* social group (for example, your friends, or your student peer group). Your *mainstream culture* is the culture that you are residing in that is not your heritage culture, either because you have moved there yourself, or your family has. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by indicating that response for each statement:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neither/			Strongly
Disagree			Mixed			Agree

1. I have a high level of respect in others' eyes.
2. Others admire me.

3. Others look up to me.
4. I have high social standing
5. I am held in high regard by others.